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The week-end of February 20 had an importance in European and world affairs that will need months, perhaps years, for proper appraisal. It was significant that hardly had the echoes of Hitler's speech died away before all eyes were turned on London and the paramount question was what lay behind Anthony Eden's resignation as Foreign Minister. Was it motivated mainly by Neville Chamberlain's meek acquiescence in Hitler's capture of Austria? Or did it look forward to an Anglo-Italian deal strictly in the spirit of the infamous Hoare-Laval plan? If the British have agreed to the swallowing of Austria, what are they prepared to do about Czechoslovakia? Will they stand by and see Hitler go down the Danube? What about the Soviet Ukraine? Is the British Cabinet, which has long seemed to wish a stalemate in Spain, now prepared to agree to a victory for Franco which means, of course, a victory for Italy and Germany? If London has come to terms with Germany and Italy, will it not do the same with the third member of the fascist triumvirate, Japan? May we not expect some sort of arrangement by which Great Britain, when she acknowledges the seizure of Ethiopia, also accepts Japan's occupation of North China, perhaps in return for protection of her investments there and a Japanese promise to keep out of Canton and Hongkong? Behind all these questions lay two others: What would the British public, which once upon a time rose in its wrath and destroyed the Hoare-Laval plan, have to say? And would France tamely submit to a series of developments so perilous to herself and her position in Europe? Not for many years has the world waited so anxiously for the answers to so many questions.

Billions for Defense

As the navy controversy proceeds, more doubts about the new program come into the picture. In the first place, although the news reports persist in referring to the increase authorized by the Vinson bill as one of 20 percent, analysis shows that it amounts to over 50 percent, as has been stated in The New Republic. The crowded condition of shipyards and the high bids for merchant vessels recently submitted indicate that the cost of construction would not be $880,000,000, as estimated, but $1,200,000,000. It is probable, too, that we should have to begin by enlarging navy yards, at an additional cost. The new ships would take so long in building that they would not be of much use in the existing international crisis. By the time they are ready, Japan will probably either have won or lost the war in Asia. As a measure of unemployment relief, too, the program would not cause the spending of much money until the present depression is past. Public works already designed would be quicker. Finally, the old controversy as to the vulnerability of battleships from the air has been revived by the statement before the Senate committee of Mr. Lester P. Barlow, whose inventions have previously been used by the army and navy, that aerial "mines" dropped from a great height by giant bombers will

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make the big new warships useless. If what we really want is defense, we ought thoroughly to investigate the new techniques of warfare before plunging into the creation of super-expensive and perhaps super-obsolete super-dreadnaughts.

What Uncle Got for His Money

It was an unfortunate day when that famous word "boondoggle" first got into the public prints. It left in the popular mind an impression, never eradicated, that federal relief projects are wasteful if not downright useless. That the truth is on the whole just the opposite is shown by a recent report covering two years of the WPA. In that time more than 11,000 buildings have been erected and 36,000 repaired or improved. We have built 43,000 miles of highways and improved 146,000 more. There are 19,000 new bridges, 11,000 miles of new drainage ditches, 3,800 miles of water mains, 5,600 miles of sewers, 3,300 storage dams and 15,000 others, besides huge repair activities in all these categories. WPA sewing rooms have made 100,000,000 garments; WPA workers have canned 24,000,000 pounds of food, served 128,000,000 school lunches, given medical and nursing aid to millions more.

Every month WPA musicians offer 4,500 concerts, attended by 3,000,000 people, while Federal Theatre actors present 2,800 performances to 1,000,000 persons in the same length of time. More than 100 books and pamphlets have been produced by WPA writers. The output of sculpture, painting and murals has been tremendous and some of it, at least, must be of high quality, for it is the work of men acclaimed as outstanding artists before they went on relief. These are just some of the highlights of the report. Another highlight, and an important one, is that work relief has salvaged millions of persons, kept their skills intact, prevented that moral and mental breakdown which in some European countries has caused the automatic transfer of the unemployed to the list of unemployables after a certain length of time. Despite all the oratory to the contrary, we doubt whether Uncle Sam ever made a better investment than what he has spent—and is about to spend—on the WPA.

Votes for Child Labor

For the third time in four years, the New York State Assembly has defeated a resolution for ratification of the child-labor amendment. On this most recent test the vote was 107 to 40 against the resolution, a defeat even more overwhelming than that in 1937. As before, the votes in favor of the resolution cut across party lines; twenty Democrats, fifteen Republicans and all five of the American Labor Party members were willing to record their opposition to the powerful forces that have fought against ratification of the amendment. The Catholic Church is, of course, the most effective of these groups. The Church's principal argument hangs on its definition of the word "labor" to include mental as well as physical work. It insists that the purpose behind the amendment is the regimentation of the nation's school children, which would mean the destruction of the parochial school system on which the strength of the Church depends. Needless to say, we believe this interpretation is false. In addition, the Church is opposed in principle to any further extension of the activity of the federal government. It supports the doctrine of states' rights because it is in control of some state legislatures while its influence over Congress is relatively slight. The remainder of the opposition in New York comes from the upstate farmers, who think the amendment will prevent the farmer's son from doing his daily chores, and from the local papers which, with only three or four exceptions, have voiced their editorial disapproval. The political pressure from these sources, however, is comparatively weak; it is the Catholic Church that must really shoulder the blame.

Indigestible Digest

Consumers' Research, Inc., will be remembered as the consumers' advisory service which, a few years ago, had some serious trouble with its employees. It is now publishing "Consumers' Digest," a pocket-sized magazine, and the latest issue to reach us contains two most unusual articles, "A Consumers' Program," by J. B. Matthews and F. J. Schlink, and "A New Way for Making Suckers," by J. B. Matthews. The first of these is a violent diatribe against the legislation of the New Deal, crammed with hysterical accusations. It says, for instance, that "the entire philosophy of the New Deal has made depression one of its social ideals." It urges the repeal of virtually all the important acts the Roosevelt administration has passed, including the Wagner Act ("the greatest piece of legislative chicane . . . ever to find its way to the statute books"), the Social Security Act ("the most dishonest piece of legislation ever devised") and the new Farm law ("fascistic intervention in farm production"). The second article wanders on through eleven pages trying to prove that many other consumer-advice organizations, and especially Consumers' Union, are really the Communist Party in thin disguise. We hope few, if any, alert consumers will be taken in by Consumers' Digest's malicious false branding in the field of political commentary.

News Notes of a Week

While Hitler and Anthony Eden dominated the world's news, a sensation was caused in the United States by unconfirmed reports of secret testimony given in Washington by former Ambassador Dodd. It was said Dr. Dodd had revealed plans of Germany to control the Netherlands, Switzerland and Czechoslovakia

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and to abolish the Polish Corridor, while Mussolini wants Spain, Egypt and Palestine.

The Chinese army continued fierce resistance to the Japanese, so fierce that Japan moved to replace the high command in charge of operations. The press reported a mysterious attempted fascist coup in Tokyo. Desperate conditions exist among 100,000,000 or more Chinese war refugees.

In Spain, the Rebels once again claimed victories in the area of Teruel. No Rebel claim is taken seriously any longer until it has been independently confirmed. A large group of distinguished Americans asked President Roosevelt to remove the application of the Neutrality Act from the Spanish civil war.

Two unsolved mysteries of the week were reports in The New York Times of matters concerning which the rest of the world seemed ignorant. One of these was a presidential consultation on war debts. The other was a reputed desire of South American countries to enter into a one-hemisphere League of Nations.

At home, efforts to place heavy legal restrictions upon American seamen continued. With them went attempts to deport Harry Bridges, leader of the San Francisco longshoremen, on the ostensible ground of his being an alien advocate of revolution, but actually because he is an able and effective labor leader.

The Reconstruction Finance Corporation announced it was now again prepared to make loans to business. Those who remembered the scandals of many earlier RFC loans hoped there would be no repetition.

Secretary Roper's serio-comic Business Advisory Council issued a set of recommendations for changes in the National Labor Relations Law. Oddly enough, it approved exactly the same list of crippling changes that big business has been trying to put over in order to emasculate the law completely.

England Shows Her Colors

EUROPEAN EVENTS, in their swift and bewildering interplay, are more difficult to interpret now than ever before. We cannot know the real significance or the consequences of what has been happening until much more time has passed. Yet we can understand somewhat better if we examine the tangle thread by thread.

Austria. – The tragic story of Austria stretches back to the war settlement, by which Britain and France broke up the Austro-Hungarian Empire into a series of uneconomic nationalist states, and left Vienna, like a head without a body, dependent on the protection and aid of whichever foreign nation could exercise most influence over her. This mistake was followed by their refusal to permit a reciprocal trade treaty between Austria and Republican Germany under Brüning. It was emphasized when, with their acquiescence, Dollfuss established his dictatorship on the support of Mussolini and the Vatican, making mortal enemies of the Socialists, although a coalition between Socialists and Catholics could have held Hitler at bay. Mussolini again acted as the agent of "the great democracies" when, on the occasion of the attempted Nazi *Putsch* which murdered Dollfuss, he kept the Germans out of Austria by threat of war. But Mussolini was thrown into the arms of Germany by the irresolute attempt to halt his conquest of Ethiopia; since then he has been dissipating his strength both in Africa and Spain; the puerile diplomatic formula was played out. Without help from any other great power, and without the aid of the anti-Nazi Austrian proletariat, Schuschnigg was bound to fall a prey to Hitler as soon as the Führer was ready to move. Britain and France thus created the conditions of the tragedy and saw it through.

What Has Hitler Won? – Union of Austria and Germany, whether economic or political, will not solve the problems of the people of either nation. Germany is a densely populated industrial country without sufficient food or mineral resources; so is Austria. The population of Austria is less than that of New York City; it will not add greatly to Hitler's military strength. Germany may be able to buy on somewhat more favorable terms the Austrian iron which she could already purchase, but it is far from sufficient in any case to meet her deficiency, and the less she pays for it, the less the Austrians will have. Austria will be an added drain on an overburdened German finance. However complacent Italy may appear now, German possession of Austria is likely in the long run to drive a wedge through the Rome-Berlin axis. The Austrians will suffer from Nazi brutality against Jews, Socialists and Christians.

Hitler has won just two things—prestige to bolster his power internally, and one door open on the Corridor toward the fulfilment of his policy of Eastern aggression. If from Austria he goes on to Hungary, Jugoslavia and Rumania, he will have additional resources with which to exert pressure upon Czechoslovakia and Poland.

Hitler's Speech and Its Meaning. – Hitler's speech to the Reichstag sounded as if he were worried about internal opposition. It was one long attempt to justify his regime and to deny that there had been any split between the National Socialist Party and the army. It ended on a shrill note of menace intended to scare his opponents, both external and internal, into submission. He insisted on having all German colonies back, and would not take financial aid as a substitute. He would not guarantee the independence of Austria. He demanded a free hand for the Nazis in Czechoslovakia. He recognized Manchukuo and sanctioned

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Japanese rule in China. By implication, he emphasized his aggressive designs in the Balkans and against the Soviet Union.

It is necessary to remember, however, that Germany is still a long way from having the military power to fight successfully against even one first-class enemy. She has not the resources to win a long war. Even if Hitler's Southeastern penetration should succeed, he would still be substantially weaker than was the Germany which was defeated in 1918. The speech was, we believe, big talk to cover real uneasiness. It will succeed in advancing his designs only to the extent that his opponents allow themselves to be bluffed.

The British Line. – The dominant element in the British Cabinet, in protest against whose policies Anthony Eden resigned, wants to conciliate both Hitler and Mussolini, and is moving rapidly toward giving both a free hand for their imperial ambitions so long as the British Empire escapes attack. Just as Britain sacrificed Spain and Austria, she would probably sacrifice Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union as well. The British Conservatives in power are not only anti-socialist but also anti-democratic. France would have wished a different policy, but does not dare risk becoming involved in a war without the assurance of British support. But in France as well there are Tory financial interests who lean toward the dictators. Britain is not just being cowed by the aggressors; she consistently, in action, gives them assistance. Eden was right in believing that the final blow to attempts at international coöperation for peace was delivered by the intention not merely to recognize the conquest of Ethiopia but also to grant belligerent rights to Franco.

The "Democratic Nations." – Much has been heard in this country about coöperation among the democratic, peace-loving nations against aggressors. By this was meant that the United States should unite with such democracies as Britain and France to defeat fascism by a policy of "collective security." Many advocates of this policy even contemplate with equanimity our entry into another world war as a crusade to save democracy. But how can we save a Europe that does not want even to save itself? The greatest and most powerful of the so-called democracies is in reality a great empire ruled at present by cold-blooded, reactionary imperialists. The action of Britain and France in settling the last war was predatory and imperialistic in the extreme. They created and maintained the conditions which bred Mussolini and Hitler. They fought against the Soviet Union as long as there was any hope of defeating it. They sabotaged German and Austrian democracy. In spite of urging from the United States, they took no measures to stop Japan in Manchukuo. France tried to prevent the application of sanctions against Mussolini in the Ethiopian affair; Britain would not apply the only sanctions—those on oil—that would have crippled him. Both have from the start, and quite unnecessarily, refused to sell munitions to Loyalist Spain.

Why should anyone be surprised or disillusioned at the latest turn of events? The truth is that these great "democracies" are not Galahads who can be depended upon to support the cause of the people. In spite of the wide democratic forces within each, they are still capitalist empires, in which the forces of reaction are always strong enough to use national policy for their own ends. Any new world war will be like the last one, a war of competing imperialisms, and it will end as disastrously for democracy. The ideals of collective security are bound to remain a delusion until we have a community of nations in which democracy, both social and political, is actually practised.

The New New Deal

THE PRESIDENT last week painted with broad strokes a picture of his domestic economic and financial policies. He asked a price level which on the whole would be higher than at present, though not so high as in 1926. Some prices, however, such as those of building materials, are much too high and should be reduced; others, such as farm prices, are far lower than they should be. He believes industrial wages should not be cut, though there might be some reduction of hourly rates in favor of a higher annual income. High wages do not, he argued, necessarily mean high costs, since they go with technological development and with increased output per man-hour. He pledged himself against further devaluation of the dollar or "inflation." He hopes for a sharp increase in the volume of industrial production, to be brought about in part by a better balance of prices and in part through the building of houses. He also wants an expansion of foreign trade.

It is a landmark in history when any figure in political life at last admits what the experts in the subject have been saying for years, that "prices" ought not to be considered one indivisible unit, to be moved up or down. The President hopes to increase agricultural prices through the operations of the new farm bill, and has a reasonable chance of doing so. He hopes to reduce the prices of basic products that are subject to monopolistic control, by means of anti-trust prosecutions, perhaps under an amended law, and of this we are much more dubious. The government has always succeeded better in raising prices than in lowering them. Anti-trust actions are slow and unwieldy; they might drag on in the courts for years before there were any tangible results.

Similar doubt must be expressed in regard to the present inadequate housing program as a way out of

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depression. Mr. Roosevelt is a very tardy and half-hearted convert to this philosophy. For five years he has permitted private interests to prevent the wholesale government activity that was needed. Though a start has now been made, it is a very modest one. The President is relying chiefly upon government aid to private enterprise, and we see no reason to believe the response will be at all adequate to the need.

The President asks that wages should not be cut. We remember a long series of similar requests by Mr. Hoover over three and a half years, requests that had little or no effect. Labor's own strength, expressed through unions, is its best protection. The unions are certainly stronger now than they were eight years ago, thanks primarily to the CIO and secondarily to the Wagner Act and the NLRB. We gravely question, however, whether Mr. Roosevelt is prepared to fight desperately in the cause of high wages at this time.

This comment is appropriate to his whole program. No one can quarrel with the picture of America the President has in his head; but he has been offering us similar pictures for a long time now without doing enough to bring them into reality. (It is only fair to remember that he formerly had the Supreme Court on his back.) There is always a danger that when you have painted a picture of Utopia you will feel that in some way you have thereby brought it substantially nearer. Few men need to fight this temptation more than does the President.

Saving the Railroads

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT and Senator Burton K. Wheeler have arranged a conference to work out a program of railroad legislation. It is impossible to know in advance what objectives will be agreed upon, but Senator Wheeler indicated the direction of his thought in his statement suggesting the desirability of the meeting.

His analysis cut close to the bone of the railroad problem. He pointed out that freight-rate increases hold no permanent hope of increasing rail revenues so long as the railroads do not earn, and show no signs of earning, enough money to survive as they are now constituted. An industry in such a plight must either cut expenses, be subsidized or fall into slow physical decay. No one wants to subsidize the railroads if it can possibly be avoided. No one wants their enormously valuable plant to deteriorate, in view of the irreplaceable social value of efficient railroad transportation to the nation. Senator Wheeler came to the conclusion, therefore, that the two major expenses which might be cut are the rate of bond interest on overcapitalized roads and the wasteful costs forced upon the railroads by the competitive scramble for traffic. Neither of these reductions can be accomplished without a thoroughgoing plan of coördination and consolidation based upon considerations of engineering and traffic instead of purely financial criteria.

Apparently Senator Wheeler's long and careful investigation of the railroads has brought him around to questioning the entire principle and practice of the Transportation Act of 1920. On this we agree with him heartily. Competition among railroads that by law must charge the same rates for the same service can lead, as it has time and again, only to illegal favors to great shippers and the costly maintenance of an endless string of duplicate facilities of all kinds.

The present illogical and ruinous situation has survived this long because each group of railroad security-holders has always hoped that somehow its own position could be bettered at the expense of some other group, because each independent management wished to maintain its own little private domain and because rail labor saw in coördination and consolidation a menace to its jobs. Now all three are learning that an industry going down to ruin takes everyone involved along with it. The gradual contraction of rail service under the financial strain of the past nine years has led to the abandonment of more than 7,000 miles of line (how many train crews lost their runs there?), to a reduction of 700,000 men and a cut of over a billion dollars a year in wages. This process will go on irresistibly unless the industry is organized into an efficient unit of national transportation.

If machinery can be set up to coördinate and consolidate rail service on a sound engineering basis—with sufficient strength and will to fight off the financial piracies that will be attempted in the name of consolidation—and if a generous pension system can be established to take proper care of men retired, something of constructive value to the country can be accomplished.

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Design for National Power Policy

NATIONS AS WELL AS INDIVIDUALS, caught up in a maze of important problems requiring immediate consideration and action, almost necessarily tend to neglect long-time issues. In the war with Spain a patrol-boat captain, on being told that one of the crew had fallen overboard and that his craft had both sprung a leak and caught on fire, for the moment permitted the larger considerations of the blockade to recede into the background. It was a current saying in Washington during the Great War that a bad toothache would make even a Chief of Staff less conscious of the battlefront. There does appear to be a deep significance back of the fact that in recent years, punctuated as they have been by distractions of a major sort—by industrial unrest, widespread unemployment, catastrophic fluctuations in values and by sinister international events—the public interest in power has not only grown, but seems to be based increasingly on fundamental considerations.

At the outset possibly the question of rates—or rather of a single rate thought to be out of line with cost—is responsible for citizen interest in electric power. But the demand for cheap, plentiful and widely distributed electricity evinces a growing appreciation on the part of great masses of people that this way lies the elimination of drudgery and the growth of a freer life.

And now in this fourth decade of the twentieth century, through dust storms, gullying hillsides, eroding fields, floods and the lowering levels of subsurface waters, our people are gradually becoming aware that all is not well as to our basic resources of soil and water. We are warned that the United States is not a permanent country; that unless we change our ways it may have less than a century left of virile national existence.

Conservation of natural resources is obviously a long-time issue. But unless it can be fostered immediately with action as energetic and insistent as in the case of war or famine or drought, the eventual ruin of all but a negligible percentage of our agricultural lands is in sight. We must learn to control waters as they fall on the land from the clouds and as they flow over our fields and in our streams. In the handling of these waters both upstream and downstream by methods we know now, and by others yet to be devised, the development and expenditure of hydro-electric power will be on a scale quite beyond the outlook of present-day financial accounting, but fully justified from the standpoint of social accounting.

The Necessary Power Policy.—These vast resources of electric power, lawfully possessed by the national government through a program of navigation improvement, conservation and national survival should be utilized. This utilization requires the immediate formulation of a national power program. Although these power resources came into being largely as a by-product in the furtherance of other and primary purposes, their use must involve all considerations affecting the public interest. Wherever a government acts, the public interest must be the touchstone of its action. A national power policy, therefore, should take into account fair rates based on cost and the development of an available culture for all the people, both urban and rural.

A power policy for the United States must recognize that the government, in the lawful exercise of its rights as a proprietor of property, remains always a *government* essentially charged with responsibility for the public welfare. In the use of vast resources of water power and in the disposal of the electric energy they produce, considerations of policy run far beyond mere proprietorship and must embrace the public functions for which governments exist.

When the United States acts in any field over which its authority extends, its actions must not only be consonant with its responsibility as a government, but must be commensurate, in conception and in execution, with the scope of that responsibility. New and grave problems, unknown even a generation ago, face the people of the United States. Throughout the whole area of constitutional authority, public action must be ruled by demonstrated social need. The Constitution itself is a living and growing thing. Its interpretation from time to time as an instrument of practical government requires an appropriate setting in political and sociological realism. Nearly one hundred and twenty years ago Mr. Chief Justice Marshall declared: "The subject is the execution of those great powers on which the welfare of a nation essentially depends. It must have been the intention of those who gave these powers to ensure, as far as human prudence could ensure, their beneficial execution. This could not be done by confining the choice of means to such narrow limits as not to leave it in the power of Congress to adopt any which might be appropriate, and which were conducive to the end. This provision is made in a constitution intended to endure for ages to come, and consequently, to be adapted to the various crises of human affairs."

Current cultural trends demand the immediate formulation of a national policy governing the application of electric energy to social purposes, whatever the sources from which it may be derived. The flexibility of this type of energy has made it a peculiarly vital factor in all our activities, in industry and in our

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homes. Making electric energy generally available at the lowest cost has become as important to the cultural life of the American people as are the services of communication and transportation. Although the possession of power resources has usually been an incident of other and primary purposes, the revenue from the generation and sale of power may be the critical factor that will pay for a comprehensive, coördinated program of conservation and the development of necessary public works.

Paramount Right.—Constitutional authority for the activity of the federal government in this field is referable either to the commerce clause of the Constitution or to the so-called general-welfare clause, or both. In most of the public works constructed to date, the possession of electric-power resources is a by-product of the construction of dams for the regulation of streams and improvement of navigation under the authority of the commerce clause. The courts have recognized the paramount right of the federal government to erect such dams in the general public interest even when it became necessary to destroy dams or power plants or canals built by private interests for private ends. "In such matters," the Supreme Court has held, "there can be no divided empire." The Court recently emphasized "the dominant authority of the federal government in the interest of navigation to erect dams and avail itself of the incidental water power."

The scope of that dominant authority has widened steadily with our developing knowledge of the factors which enter into the regulation of stream flow. Originally it was assumed that the public purpose could be attained by the construction of isolated flood-control dams and other works for the regulation of stream flow. Experience and scientific research have demonstrated that, to effect fully the public purpose of navigation, control of the influence of precipitation on stream flow must extend back through feeders, both on the surface and underground, even to the utmost sources of that flow—to the raindrops falling on the land. Dust storms, erosion, siltation, floods and low water are but the corollaries of navigation, and their control is essential to the proper promotion of navigation.

Courts and lawyers have usually referred to the commerce clause and the power thereunder to promote navigation as the basis of federal authority in the construction of dams and the resulting development of electric power. Certain wide activities, however, in the use and control of streams are referable to the power of Congress to tax and spend for the "general welfare." The conservation and proper use of land and water involve grave matters which have placed in jeopardy the very foundations of our national life. It is obvious that flood control, reclamation, changes in land use and prevention of soil erosion are not only within the power of the national government to promote the general welfare, but are within its solemn duty. Under the general-welfare clause the government is obviously limited to the spending of money and a jurisdiction reasonably incident to such expenditure. Recent decisions of the Supreme Court, however, have indicated the wide scope of this power and its availability for the solution of some of our greatest national problems.

Just as unemployment, the necessities of old age, reclamation and the protection of agriculture are proper objects of the general welfare, so a broadly conceived program of water and soil conservation in the interest of national survival falls clearly within this sphere of federal authority. The federal government may make loans and grants of moneys for these purposes and it may also regulate the use of the moneys, provided the regulation is not a coercive exercise of the police power reserved to the states.

Ownership and operation by the federal government of property resulting from such expenditures for the general welfare present certain other legal questions. The courts have had little occasion to date to survey and stake this area of federal authority. But there would seem to be no constitutional difficulty in justifying the device of government operation when this is the only practicable means of carrying forward an adequate conservation program.

The Government and Property Values.—In the construction of dams and other public works for navigation improvement, flood control, prevention of soil erosion, land reclamation and other conservation of natural resources, the government comes into possession of property of enormous value and potentiality. Included among these property values are water power and electric energy. The Supreme Court in a recent case upholding the constitutionality of the Tennessee Valley Authority Act in respect of the right of the Authority to sell energy generated at Wilson Dam, held that the lawful possession of this property carried with it the right to utilize the water power for the generation of electric energy and the right to sell the energy. The Court also held that it need not be sold at the generating plant but may be transmitted by the government to "seek a wider market."

In the utilization of these property values by the sale of water, water power and electric energy, reasonable discretion reposes in Congress and the Executive. The government, although acting as a proprietor, must act also as custodian of a highly integrated public interest which runs far beyond a comprehensive program of water and soil conservation and must include the conservation of human values. When a government disposes of its property, both the characteristics of that property and the mode of its disposition may have a unique effect upon the public welfare. The disposition

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of electric energy is not a circumstance of relinquishing property once and for all time; it is a continuous process of releasing energy and making it generally available. Federal power policy should be directed to the maximum development and the widest distribution of electric energy compatible with sound economy; and in defining "sound economy," primary account must be taken of the economic and social effects of that policy on the public welfare.

A Transmission Policy.—The electricity produced by multiple-purpose federal works should be transmitted by lines designed to become ultimately part of an integrated transmission system operated or effectively controlled by the appropriate agency or agencies of government. Whatever the instrumentalities—public or private—by which any part of a transmission system is constructed and operated, the ultimate direction and effective control must be in public hands.

The quantity, firmness and flexible availability of power provided by any transmission system operated or controlled by a federal agency should be promoted by inclusion of all public sources of energy, and so far as public interest justifies by interchange arrangements with favorable private sources of energy that might exist within the transmission area.

It is essential if maximum public benefit is to be realized from such surplus power, that it have right of access to the market, to all types of customers in the market, to necessary facilities for transmission and distribution, and to auxiliary facilities for firming it up and promoting its availability, usability and salability; and that there be no restriction of such rights through the activities of other agencies serving the market.

Private enterprises in this field exist as instruments of public service by virtue of grants and franchises of government—local, state and federal, acting within their respective spheres—and as licensees have no inherent rights or privileges antecedent to those granted them for the public benefit. In any policy for making available the electric energy produced in connection with public works, government in its relations with and influence on private enterprise should be restricted only by considerations relating to the maximum social serviceability of the works. These may lead to arrangements with private enterprise in order to utilize physical instruments already available for public service. Such arrangements must always be governed by the requirements of the public welfare as the essential consideration in all government action. The inherent nature of government and historic circumstances do not permit even momentary consideration of a partnership of equal powers in making appropriate arrangements.

Federal agencies will usually not undertake distribution to ultimate consumers when other adequate distribution service at reasonable schedules can be assured. They may more effectively sell at wholesale to local distributing agencies, with such exceptions, however, as sales to consumers taking large quantities directly from the transmission system for industrial or similar purposes, and as sales for promotion of rural electrification. In making contracts, preference should be given to efficiently managed governmental and coöperative distributing organizations, and to such other distributing organizations as are legally in a position to agree to stipulations designed to assure maximum benefits to ultimate consumers.

As a general principle energy should be provided to all competent applicant distribution agencies—public, coöperative and private—within a transmission area, and to no one type exclusively except in accordance with the principle of preference already noted. In so far as costs of extension of transmission facilities and similar factors at any particular time set limits and compel selection, such selection should aim at the development of integrated distribution areas. However, so long as the government does not engage in distribution activities and depends on local agencies, integration of areas should not be made a condition precedent to the sale of energy. It would be inequitable to withhold service to one locality because contiguous localities are not disposed to coöperate; and under such conditions to make the principle of integration dominant would ignore present realities and sacrifice certain public interests that could and should be served—in fact, might negative any efforts towards an integrated system of widely distributed cheap power.

Price Criteria.—Federal policy should recognize the distinction between the establishment of general pricing policy and the actual determination of the rate schedule for a particular transmission area. In accordance with principles of organization and by agencies mentioned later, a general pricing policy should be determined for the entire United States, and there should be a separate and particular application of that general policy in making the rate schedule for each transmission area.

Service at the lowest reasonable cost to consumers, with the benefit of any favorable conditions attached to federal ownership and operation, should be the pricing principle of national power policy. This objective should be sought both in establishing wholesale rates and in stipulations influencing retail distribution rates. Lowest reasonable cost involves:

Rational allocation of the costs of multiple-purpose projects.

Amortization of the allocated cost of construction during the life of the property.

Interest.

Taxes, as under the TVA, where a percentage of gross is paid to the states.

Cost of maintenance.

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commercial, techni-
of more extensive and

principle, in the form
cost as computed by conventional
methods, should be allowed only on special occasion in a particular area as a means toward achievement of some objective important to the national welfare, to gain which would effect a proper relation between costs and benefits in terms of social accounting.

The latter method represents a principle common to private enterprises. In private business that principle is to consider the profits and costs of items by groups—the combined profits and the combined costs—and to allocate overhead and other joint costs to each item in such manner that the result represents the maximum profits. In a business the problem of allocating joint costs is approached by consideration of ultimate net profits, and makes the allocation serve the purpose of private enterprise—all the profits the traffic will bear.

The same policy of pricing may be employed under an entirely different motivation—the social interest. In place of maximum money profits accruing to private ownership, the objective of public enterprise is maximum social benefits widely and equitably distributed. The allocations and costing formula applied to a particular situation will change as the social values change. Obviously any "final" allocation in the case of a unified river development is impossible until the improvements are virtually completed.

In making the wholesale rate schedule for any particular transmission area the principle of a common rate schedule for all sections of the area should govern, but its application should be within measurable limits. Generally, in any rational system of extension, the factor of volume and variety of consumption is a more important influence on unit costs than the factor of cost of transmission facilities. The more distant consuming increments in such a rational system of extension, in the large and in the long run, will reduce unit costs for all consumers by the added increments of their consumption, more than the costs of facilities to serve them will increase the unit costs. Furthermore, from the long-run social point of view it is desirable that the rate schedule be a decentralizing rather than a centralizing force in its influence on the distribution of population and of occupations. This will not prevent some price differential being allowed at and near the power site for a part of the output.

Yardstick Value.—The sale of surplus energy from multiple-purpose public works can be made to serve a useful purpose as a means of appraising alternative policies of production and distribution, measuring the relative efficiency of various operating methods and stimulating improvement generally in the technology of the industry and utilization of its product.

The advantages of public enterprise as a yardstick cannot be realized by attempting to set up a public enterprise in such manner as to duplicate a private enterprise in every detail, and then comparing the two. They are essentially different kinds of institutions, with different objectives. Comparison of the costs of identical component parts of technical operations by a uniform system of cost accounting can indeed be useful; but comparison of the costs of a public enterprise in its entirety with those of a private enterprise in its entirety is neither realistic nor practicable because of the variables involved. For instance, public agencies obtain their money at low rates and almost without exception amortize their investments. The private utilities, by their failure to amortize capital-debt, laid themselves open to the recent collapse of equity values.

It is a recognition of and experiment with the variables that is important. A public enterprise can make experiments and comparisons on many fronts that private enterprise cannot or will not make. It can explore such things as the advantages and disadvantages of mass consumption at low rates, the extent to which electricity can be used advantageously on farms, and the influence on productivity and costs of good wages and superior working conditions. It can explore the part to be played by electricity as the "coördinating agent" in the promotion of a comprehensive conservation program.

Its Administration.—The following principle of organization should be followed: (1) central determination of national power policy and central administration of conformity to general policy; but (2) regional operation and business management, and regional application of general policy (including the making of rate schedules) to regional circumstances. While it is essential that national policy be observed, if we allow these considerations to deprive regional authorities of the flexibility necessary to their realistic operation, we fall into the same centralization mania that has made the holding companies a liability to the utility industry. It is perhaps better to have electricity operations directed from Washington than from New York. But that is not the choice. On the other hand, unless the regional agencies have a considerable measure of managerial direction, they will lose the vitality that results from close contact with local conditions.

The transmission area of each particular major generating point, or of a combination of generating points within a natural region, should be considered an individual operating region. The boundaries of such a region should not be exclusively delimited by geographical definition, but should be determined by the relation among physiographic factors, market factors and the state of the technique of economical transmission of energy, and should be expanded or contracted according to circumstances.

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Each region should be administered and managed by a quasi-autonomous public agency (an individual, a board or a commission) authorized to promote and manage and make contracts for the sale of electric energy generated as a by-product of public works in the region, to determine the rate schedule for the region in conformity with recognized national policy, and in general to pursue activities appropriate to the principles and policies hereinbefore discussed.

There should be established a central agency, or an existing agency should be utilized, to formulate general policy; audit the conformity of regional policies, rate schedules and operations to general policy; and in general serve as
formity to national
gional agencies, but
business or regional

After twenty-five years
power field one cannot but be a
attending the putting into effect of any comprehensive national power policy. But those interested may well have in mind rather the growing intelligence and capacity of the American people—especially as we come to realize that our very life as a virile nation is tied up with conservation policies and that these in turn depend on power as the integrating factor. MORRIS L. COOKE

Austria Succumbs to Hitler

HITLER has broken through the anti-Nazi dykes which have until now held against the Third Reich. Once more he has used the *coup de main* to smash his way to an objective. Independent Austria is now a memory. The Führer is putting into action the words of "Mein Kampf"; he is bringing about *Anschluss* (Austro-German union) "by all the means in our power." By force and the threat of more force he has compelled the Austrian government to admit Nazis to the Cabinet. He has dictated to Chancellor Schuschnigg what Austria must do to escape armed invasion by the Reichswehr. The stage has been set for actual *Anschluss* a few months hence. Austria is to be the Eighth Gau (district) of the Third Reich.

While Nazis in Berlin exultantly shout, "Austria is ours!" thousands of Austrian Nazi prisoners are being released. Men who committed crimes against the government—even murderers—are being turned loose to renew their lawless activities, this time under the cloak o immunity. An Austrian pro-Nazi, Dr. Seyss-In made Minister of the Interior by Hitler's orders, rushed off at once from his post in Vienna to "consult" his Führer in "the eternal capital of the German people." The pro-German, Dr. Guido Schmidt, has been given enhanced authority over Austria's foreign relations. Professor Adamovitch, a Nazi sympathizer, has become Minister of Justice. Other Nazi sympathizers now head the departments of Finance, Forestry and Labor. Still others are destined soon to gain key positions in the government.

Hitler is driving furiously toward the goal of "coordinating" the armies of Austria and the Third Reich. He is working to bring about a customs union that will place Austria at the economic mercy of Germany. He is determined to force the Austrian banking system under German control. Most important of all, however, he is reaching out to seize Austria's raw materials, so badly needed by the industrial and military machines of the Third Reich. In the throes of the four-year plan to achieve economic self-sufficiency in preparation for war, Germany desperately needs the lumber, food and ore of Austria. The great Krupp factories, working twenty-four hours a day, must have ore to turn into guns, tanks, shells and armor plate. Austria has ore reserves. The Erzberg, the famous iron mountain, can provide the ore essential to keep a steady flow of munitions pouring from Hitler's gigantic armament industry.

Hitler's *fait accompli* in Austria is only one part of his grand strategy to make Germany the master of Europe. One has merely to read the Führer's words in "Mein Kampf" to realize the moderation of that statement. Once in control of Austria, he will not stop there. If Austro-German union were an end in itself, it would be bad enough. It would be a catastrophe for multitudes of non-Nazis in the little mountain state. But *Anschluss* is merely the beginning. Today, the tentacles of the German octopus are closing in on helpless Austria; tomorrow, they will reach farther afield to seize and devour other victims. Eventually, those destroying tentacles will reach out into other continents for booty. But right now they are hungrily maneuvering to crush the prey within easy re

The Nazi road to world power
Austria. It is a short cut to fulfilment of
of empire than even the grandiose pre-war ambitions of Wilhelm II and his Pan-German followers. Then the road of Germany Destiny ended at the Persian Gulf. Today, one branch of it points toward Siberia; still others branch out toward the Rumanian oil fields, toward Asia Minor, Africa and South America. But in the immediate future Hitler's objectives lie nearer home. He has maneuvered his "pacification of Europe" in such a way that he holds the initiative; his opponents are on the defensive. And while his diplomatic strategy follows the plan of "divide and rule," his military strategy takes the line of isolating his victims.

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Czechoslovakia today plays the sacrificial role of Hitler's next victim. For German control of Austria is an important part of the strategy of encircling the Czech republic, now almost surrounded by hostile states. Even if the Czechs can count on Rumanian support, which is extremely doubtful, they will have only 201 friendly kilometers of frontiers out of a total border length of 4,125 kilometers. Not only will Bohemia be wedged in between the hungry Nazi Austro-German jaws, but the Slovakian body will be lying exposed between a hostile Hungary and a Poland preoccupied with the German threat to her Baltic provinces. There is a mutual-assistance pact between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, it is true, but these states have no common frontier. And by the terms of the pact, Moscow is not obliged to go to the aid of Prague unless Paris does. That is a significant factor in the present situation; it may, indeed, be the determining factor.

Two years ago, on March 7, when Hitler marched his field-gray troops into the then demilitarized Rhineland zone, his thrust seemed to be pointed westward; actually it was pointed eastward. The Führer had no intention of committing Nazi suicide by sending his soldiers against the powerful Maginot Line. On the contrary, he was establishing a defensive position in the West in order that he might have freedom to carry out his projected offensive against Austria, Czechoslovakia and the other prospective victims of the *Drang nach Osten*. In answer to this threat the Czechs tried to strengthen their position by cementing their relations with France, the USSR, Rumania and Jugoslavia.

But Czechoslovakia's greatest defensive weakness is inherent in the presence of four million Teutons and Magyars within her frontiers. Some of these Germans, about a million Sudetendeutsch "Activists," are loyal to the Czechoslovak state. They prefer Prague's rule to that of Berlin. But even subtracting these faithful citizens, there are still about three million intransigent Germans and Hungarians within the borders of the Republic—that is, about 20 percent of the population. Konrad Henlein, the Sudetendeutsch Führer, is an ardent Nazi who takes no pains to hide his hostility to the Czechoslovak government. He organizes secret Storm Troop units, trains them in Nazi ideology and the arts of war. These Bohemian Nazis are Hitler's "Fifth Column" in Czechoslovakia. Henlein publishes his own newspaper and carries on his work of sabotage and preparations for civil conflict. At intervals he goes to Berlin to report to his Führer and receive orders. All the while he is a Czechoslovak citizen.

There is no gainsaying Czech courage and determination. In the face of multitudinous dangers the Czechs go quietly about their work as if they lived in a normal, civilized Europe. President Benes sets an example of personal courage that is a guiding beacon not only for his countrymen but for statesmen in the capitals of the great powers. While the Western democracies have been making one surrender after another to Hitler, Dr. Benes has been striving to protect his little "island of democracy." He has an excellent industrial structure which contains about 72 percent of the industry of the old Dual Monarchy. His Skoda steel plants are world famous. He equips his army from his own factories. And though he regrets the waste of money on non-productive armaments, he sees no alternative. Backed by a sound economic structure, he can carry out his program of national defense without inviting bankruptcy. But to complement this defense, he must have help from the outside. If France, Britain and the Soviet Union would stand by him, he would have a fair chance of surviving. But left to himself, he cannot hope indefinitely to hold off his vastly more powerful Nazi enemy.

"Hitler will not need to go to war if he can win without fighting," President Benes told me. When the Führer's victims throw up their hands and surrender, there is not, of course, the slightest necessity for the Third Reich to take even a small risk. There is danger that Hitler may win an indefinite number of victories, because his opponents refuse to meet force with force. In this connection, Czech officers have told me that they believe they can hold off the German army till help arrives. But unless help comes, and comes quickly, the Czechs would be overwhelmed. Although they have fortified the mountain passes between Germany and Bohemia and have built a "little Maginot Line" along the Reich's frontier, their cities lie open to attack by Göring's air armada. It takes less than twenty minutes to fly from German air fields to Prague. And Czechoslovakia's industrial centers and railroad junctions are within easy distance of German air power.

Once Hitler consolidates his control of his native Austria, the drama enacted on February 12 at Berchtesgaden is likely to be repeated. Some of the actors will be the same. The Führer will be there again in the stellar role. The German army chiefs will be on hand, and some of the Nazi Party hierarchy. Replacing the Austrian Nazis who confronted Dr. Schuschnigg, there will be Henlein and some of his Bohemian Nazis. And in place of the Austrian Chancellor there will be the President of Czechoslovakia, forced like his Austrian neighbor to bend the knee to Adolf Hitler. This will happen, unless the Western democracies wake up suddenly and reverse their recent defeatist tactics.

And where does Britain stand in the midst of this crisis? Has London gone back on those brave words uttered by Sir Samuel Hoare less than three years ago at Geneva when he said that His Majesty's Government follows a policy of "steady and collective resistance to any and all acts of unprovoked aggression"? That attitude is not dominant in Britain today. But the world situation has changed and compelled the British

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to reconsider. When Sir Samuel was voicing those sentiments, the Rhineland had not been remilitarized, Mussolini was only threatening to attack Ethiopia, Franco was an almost unknown army officer in Spain Japan had not started on her present rampage in China, the anti-Communist Berlin-Rome-Tokyo triangle had not been created, the League was still a factor in world affairs and the British Empire was still not seriously menaced from any quarter. Today, Britain must be alert in the North Sea, throughout the Mediterranean, and at Singapore and Hongkong. She cannot concentrate her power against any aggressor. She must keep her forces scattered.

And how does Mussolini feel about Hitler's "parliamentary" *Putsch* in Austria? Less than four years ago did not the Duce rush his crack motorized divisions to the Brenner Pass and threaten to go to war against the Führer if German troops should enter Austria? And has it not been an unchanging Italian policy since the Armistice to keep Austria an independent buffer state to prevent German contact with Italy's frontiers? The reader will do well not to attach too much significance to the ideological ties between the Führer and the Duce. Fascism serves as a piratical bond to hold them together for as long as it serves their respective purposes. I believe that Mussolini's hands-off policy when Hitler bludgeoned Schuschnigg was not motivated by friendship for the Führer. It was caused by the Duce's own weakness.

Last August Jugoslav officials told me that Mussolini had signed a treaty highly favorable to the South Slavs because he had become so heavily involved in Ethiopia and Spain that he was compelled to make concessions to Belgrade in order to relieve the pressure against him. Without German support, the entire Italian bluff in the Mediterranean directed against Britain and France would collapse. He would have to liquidate his none too glorious Spanish adventure. Inasmuch as it is only about forty miles from Germany to the Brenner Pass, it is logical to believe that the Duce does not like the trend of affairs in Austria. But he cannot afford a break with his Brown Shirt ally at present. That Mussolini has believed for some months that Austria would fall to the Nazis is shown by the fortifications, reputed to be as powerful as any in Europe, which the Duce is building at the Brenner. Erection of these steel and concrete forts indicates that Italian military authorities suspect that before long German divisions will be stationed at the northern end of the Pass. And it more than hints at Italian skepticism regarding the permanency of the Berlin-Rome axis.

As the ally of Czechoslovakia and the nation described by Hitler in "Mein Kampf" as the "deathly enemy" that must be "annihilated," France is appalled by Hitler's ruthless victory in Austria. But in contrast to the powerful France of a decade ago, the France of today vacillates and talks. There has been amazingly little talk in France of military action to protect Austria. French denunciation of Mussolini for his betrayal of the long dead Stresa front merely lays bare the bankruptcy of the post-war political system. Certainly no Frenchman placed the slightest confidence in a Duce who destroyed Ethiopia, flouted the League and joined the anti-Communist triangle. Yet Paris leaves little doubt in our minds that Mussolini was the only man who could keep Hitler out of Austria.

As for Austria, she is paying a terrific price for her criminal blunder of destroying the Social Democratic Party four years ago this month. For the liberals whom Dollfuss persecuted were the only faction in Austria that could be counted upon for a last-ditch defense against Nazism. Five months later he paid with his life for this tragic folly, a crime instigated by Mussolini. And now Europe is beginning to pay a staggering and ever mounting price for Allied mistakes in dealing with the pacific Second Reich. An Austro-German customs union, which the Allies refused to permit Republican Chancellor Brüning to consummate seven years ago, would have been mild compared to the complete destruction of Austrian independence scheduled on Hitler's program. Once more the Austrian Nazis feel justified in boasting, "Our Führer knows what he is doing!"

Nazification of Austria will entail tragedy for the people who have stood out against Hitler's efforts to gain control of their country. As is the Nazi practice in Memelland, Austrian Nazis hold the threat of vengeance over those who oppose National Socialism. In Vienna there is sounded the familiar warning: "Hitler is coming! Heads will roll!"

HENRY C. WOLFE

Professor, How Could You?

> Now, who shall arbitrate?
> Ten men love what I hate
> Shun what I follow, slight what I receive;
> Ten, who in ears and eyes
> Match me: we all surmise
> They this thing, and I that: whom shall my soul believe?

SPEAKING of obscure people who have battled for freedom of speech, press, assembly and petition and in particular those who have suffered in defense of liberty—let me introduce my husband, Joseph S. Gelders.

I feel peculiarly qualified to tell my husband's story. We have been happily married for eighteen years. I have been privileged to watch Joe's spiritual growth from an altruistic, idealistic boy of twenty to a mature defender of civil rights. I have known him as an enthusiastic scoutmaster, disciple of Dan Beard; as

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soldier and admirer of Woodrow Wilson and his slogan, "Make the World Safe for Democracy"; as third helper on the TCI open-hearth furnace; as a scientist, a professor of physics; and as a fighter for civil liberties.

While professor of physics at the University of Alabama, Joe became interested in civil rights. The 1934 ore-mine strike in the Birmingham area startled him out of the lethargy into which university professors are so prone to fall. It is easy for a college teacher to be an escapologist—to bury himself in his subject and let the rest of the world go by.

The magazines of the time were full of provocative articles. We started a discussion group among some of the more intelligent and serious-minded students, which met every week in the student-activities building. Even such mild activities as these caused Joe to be criticized by his superiors. He was getting too interested in "outside activities"; he should "stick to his last."

Always an admirer of Voltaire, Tom Paine and Thomas Jefferson, and a firm believer in the Bill of Rights, Joe was particularly aroused in the spring of 1935 over the anti-sedition bill, then before the state legislature. He helped some of the students draw up petitions against this bill and was, I believe, the only professor who signed one.

In May, 1935, Joe attended a civil-rights conference in Monteagle, Tennessee. It had been scheduled for Chattanooga, but the police threatened to dynamite the hall if it was not evacuated. This was my husband's first direct encounter with terrorism. At the conference he met Blaine Owen, Communist, who a short while before had been beaten by thugs in Birmingham and was still a mass of bruises. He listened to similar stories of illegal raids and police brutality from Florida to the Carolinas. It was hard for him to believe that such things happened in his native South and were condoned.

In the summer of '35 a delegation of writers, members of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners (now the National Committee for People's Rights), came South to test the Downs Literature Ordinance, an anti-sedition law. After being roughly handled by the police in Birmingham, they were fired upon from a passing car on the way to Montgomery to see the Governor and protest the anti-sedition bill.

This incident, the attendant national publicity and the concurrent defeat of the state anti-sedition law inerested Joe so much that later, when he was offered the position of secretary of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, he decided this was his chance to become most useful in the fight for civil rights.

For a year he worked in this capacity. Twice during that period he made trips to his native state with Dr. Allan Knight Chalmers of the Broadway Tabernacle Church, succeeding in establishing an Alabama committee on the Scottsboro case. He organized and served on a committee to investigate the denial of civil rights to strikers in Camden, New Jersey, during the RCA strike.

When the Committee decided to open a Southern headquarters in Birmingham with a Southerner in charge, Joe was selected as the logical person to conduct this work. In August, 1936, he "went back where he came from" and opened an office.

The first case to come to his attention was that of Jack Barton, tubercular Communist, arrested in Bessemer, a U. S. Steel company town, under an ordinance similar to the Downs "seditious" literature ordinance. What happened next is pretty generally known. The persistence of my husband in his efforts to have Barton released and the ordinance declared unconstitutional resulted in an order to have him flogged and run out of town. In September, 1936, one month after he had opened his office, he was taken for a ride, beaten into unconsciousness and threatened with death if he did not quit the state. As soon as he was able to leave the hospital, he renewed his fight for Barton's release and demanded the prosecution of his attackers. He identified three, but two grand juries failed to indict. The La Follette civil-liberties committee investigated this flagrant miscarriage of justice and uncovered evidence showing the hand of U. S. Steel in the flogging.

Joe succeeded in having Barton removed from the condemned Bessemer jail to a tuberculosis sanitarium. In November, 1936, the Court of Appeals declared the Bessemer law unconstitutional and ordered Barton released.

The NLRB investigation of the terror practised against unionists in Gadsden, Alabama, rubber, textile and steel center, has put Gadsden on the map. Early last summer, Joe was made an accredited representative of the Gadsden Central Labor Union to obtain aid for this body from Eastern trade unions. With a group of ministers and writers, he participated in a hearing in Gadsden, the findings of which were submitted to the La Follette committee and the NLRB, strengthening the evidence in the NLRB investigation.

Joe is now interested in effecting the pardon of John Catchings, Birmingham's Tom Mooney, a militant trade unionist framed on a dynamite charge during the Republic Steel strike in 1934.

This case and many like it are now occupying Joe's time and attention. Like the Happy Warrior of Wordsworth, he "finds comfort in himself and in his cause."

ESTHER F. GELDERS

This portrait won an honorable mention in The New Republic's "Little Known Fighters for Civil Liberties" contest. – THE EDITORS

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Shoot the Works

A Tip to Uncle Sam

THE NEW DEAL has taken some of its sharpest criticism on its best achievements. For instance, it seems to me that the Federal Theatre project has been a brilliant success. I say this in spite of the fact that the hierarchy turned its thumbs down on "The Cradle Will Rock" just as that magnificent America opera was about to be born under the auspices of Washington. In my opinion Marc Blitzstein's work is far more native and impressive than anything the Metropolitan has done in the discovery of local talent.

As a matter of fact, Mr. Blitzstein is still a little sore and ruffled from the impact of federal censorship. He should not be. I'm guessing, of course, but I doubt whether his opera would have had much chance with the cautious producers of Broadway except for the send-off it received as doorstep baby of the Federal Theatre. And it eventually found production through Orson Welles and the Mercury Theatre group. Washington has every right to assert that this very lively enterprise is a godchild of the government.

The New Deal did give the American Theatre a shot in the arm. There are more serious plays of note on Broadway right now than the stage has known in a generation. Our theatre was sick unto death through an overdose of laughing gas. Creative effort grew weaker and weaker because every dramatist believed that audiences in a sorry world wanted nothing but farce. Even light comedy was frowned upon as being a shade too heavy for the tired business man.

But the boys and girls who got jobs with the Federal Theatre were not in a particularly merry mood. They themselves were victims of the great inertia which had seized upon the native drama. To be sure, the New Deal in its role of theatrical producer did not offer an unbroken ration of tragedy. One or two farces and a couple of comedies were put on, but the government's best foot was a grim one. In the "Living Newspaper" a new technique was created. And this was far more effective in its serious moments than in one or two efforts to be antic.

Broadway managers never admit anything and so I do not know whether the Shuberts and the rest are prepared to throw their hats in the air and exclaim, "Thank God for the Federal Theatre." They should. Specifically the road was dead as Hoover's economics. Now it seems to stir in its long sleep and Harry Hopkins is the Prince Charming who has awakened it with the chaste kiss of public bounty on the brow.

But I think there has been a flaw in the tactics of the relief administration. It has allowed its critics to put it on the defensive. Washington needs more quarterbacks, and particularly those with the audacity to throw long forward passes in their own territory. The best way to stifle criticism is to fight the battle along every available front.

There are two American enterprises which might profit just as much as the theatre has done from federal competition. And I understand from those who believe in the capitalist system that competition is the life of trade. It seems to me that both newspapers and radio are suffering from the fact of insufficient rivalry. Control rests in comparatively few hands. Even some cities of considerable size have become one-paper towns. And in the case of radio, two great chains practically monopolize the field of national hookups. Private enterprise is not rushing in and journalism declines because in certain spots management sits back lazily because there is no other competitor in the field. You can't get scooped in a one-paper town.

I'm well aware of the fact that Washington has not the slightest desire or intention of starting a government newspaper with a national circulation. Indeed, when I mentioned the subject to Harry Hopkins, he said, "Don't talk like a fool. In fact, take your hat and red sweater and get out of my room. I don't want to have you hanging around. Any such idea is nonsense."

Just the same it's a good idea. Of course such a project would be greeted with wild cries of rage on the part of all publishers. There would be accusations of fascism and the charge would be made that any such federal enterprise would be a blow at the freedom of the press. And this charge would be made chiefly by those owners in the one-paper towns.

It would be unfair to say that a government newspaper in competition with private enterprise constituted any such set-up as prevails in Fascist countries. A government newspaper would have to be good to get readers. I honestly believe that in the long run private enterprise would profit not only artistically but financially under the stress of having a rival organization set up, and of course the same thing is true of radio.

A federal radio station should not accept advertising. Neither should a federal newspaper. Radio and newspapers must live by advertising, since they depend upon profit. I'm not complaining about that. But I do think that the competition which Washington might set up would tend to make newspaper advertising more candid and radio plugs more brief. It seems impossible to convince the cigarette and tooth-paste kings that they out-talk themselves when they buy time or space. An advertiser might very well sweep the country if his radio program was introduced with nothing more than: "Blix is just a good standard cigarette. It contains just about the same sort of tobacco as the other brands which sell for the same price. But when you go to a cigar store you've got to call for something, and so why not try Blix? It's an easy name to remember."

Radio and newspapers without advertising would not kill those mediums which must use them. But they would vastly improve the standards of publicity. Of course I have another point in mind. The unemployed newspaperman is a little more out of luck than other jobless persons. There is no project that enables him to work at his own craft. There are writer projects, but a reporter is not always an author. I have known successful newspapermen who couldn't write their way out of a paper bag. You can think of appropriate names yourself. Please don't crowd and please don't point. In addition to reporters there are thousands of unemployed linotypers and other men in the mechanical forces.

But most of all I would like to see Washington put a burr under the saddle to save newspaper publishers from themselves. Many of them have forgotten how to gallop. And some can't even trot.

HEYWOOD BROUN

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Ham Fish in Granpa's Shoes

IT IS UNLIKELY that Mr. Roosevelt's new active foreign policy will ever be brought formally before Congress. The nearest that Congress will probably come to voting on it is the present $880,000,000 naval-appropriations bill. Last week in the high-vaulted, red-hung room of the House Naval Affairs Committee, Congressmen tried as best they could to talk out the future of this country, and of the peoples living around the Pacific.

The chairman, Mr. Carl Vinson, is a Roosevelt idolator. In appearance he is not unlike the late Mr. Coolidge: the same faded blue eye, the same badly fitting stiff collar, the same nasal, implike wit. His chief aide last week was a Republican, Mr. Maas of Minnesota. No member of Mr. Roosevelt's own party—except Mr. Vinson—approached him in zeal. Mr. Maas was a Marine Corps aviator in the World War, and has great physical courage. Last week he bullied witnesses unmercifully, and seemed to believe that being a pacifist involved a reluctance to defend one's female relatives from rape. The third most effective big-navy advocate was scholarly Byron Scott of Los Angeles, former history teacher and left-winger. He was the committee's thinker. For whatever it may show, Mr. Scott was a boy in short pants, just turned eleven, in 1914.

In the witness chair before them for two long sessions sat Mr. Hamilton Fish. Everyone remembers Mr. Fish's Red hunt of 1930, and the spectacle he made of himself. But last week he did himself great honor. A short time ago Professor Nevins published a biography of Mr. Fish's grandfather, in which he established that the elder Fish was perhaps the chief force in keeping the Grant administration from foreign adventures. Consciously or unconsciously, the younger Fish last week followed his grandfather's pattern. Alone among the opposition witnesses, he succeeded in pinning back the very pinnable ears of Mr. Maas. Commander of the celebrated 369th Negro regiment in the World War and a founder of the American Legion, he could grin happily under Mr. Maas's onslaughts. And in his interchanges with Mr. Scott, congressional debate on foreign policy reached a remarkably informed level.

Mr. Fish is not regarded by newspaper correspondents as a power in Congress, and his testimony was sketchily reported. He made two fundamental points: First, Japan is a military power. She will continue to be one for many years to come. There is no hope of wishing the Japanese off the shores of the Pacific Ocean. Like it or not, we have to find a way of living with them. Second, since we are bound sooner or later to make peace with Japan, the only question to be discussed is the terms on which it is to be made. The utmost that Japan's admirals, generals and bloody-handed patrioteers have ever asked for is naval parity. Why should not we give them parity, or at least a substantially larger ratio than 10:7?

This is the question Mr. Fish wanted Mr. Roosevelt and the big-navy advocates to answer. It left committee members like Mr. Maas purple with indignation, but relatively ready to abandon all plans of bringing military pressure on Japan, we could reach an agreement with the Japanese, in Mr. Fish's estimate, "within sixty days."

A committee member brought forward the possibility that Germany might intervene in Brazil at the same moment that Japan was threatening us in the Pacific. Did that not justify Mr. Roosevelt's plea for a double navy, one half to be used in the Pacific, and the other in the Atlantic? The five military powers of Europe, Mr. Fish explained, are now straining every resource to put the maximum number of men and guns on their own frontiers. If Germany or Italy were to send first-line troops and the best part of her navy to far-off South America, it would mean that the military control of Europe would pass instantly and bloodlessly to the democratic powers. To think that Germany or Italy would attempt serious military action in Latin America was preposterous.

With nearly all of this, Mr. Scott agreed. He thought this country might well give Japan a more favorable naval ratio—some day. But at the moment Japan was a bad nation, immersed in evil deeds. It would be wrong to strike hands with an evil-doer. It was clear that Mr. Fish, at least in his capacity as an American Congressman, did not care particularly what Japan did, while Mr. Scott cared enormously. Between them, there was no meeting ground.

The current discussions among Democratic leaders in Pennsylvania are likely to be of great importance for labor's future. The professional politicians, headed by Democratic State Chairman Lawrence, want Mr. C. A. Jones as nominee for Governor; Mr. John L. Lewis and Labor's Non-Partisan League are pushing for Mr. Tom Kennedy, the present Lieutenant-Governor and an official of the United Mine Workers. What is at stake is not merely the governorship, but control of Pennsylvania's seventy-five delegates to the 1940 national Democratic convention. Pennsylvania Republicans obtained Mr. Hoover's nomination in 1928; directed by able labor strategists, Pennsylvania's delegates might decide the Democratic nominee two years hence.

Pennsylvania's Governor, Mr. George H. Earle, though he still hopes to be Democratic choice for United States Senator, seems to have been sidetracked. This is reported to be not merely because he failed to meet labor's expectations in the strike in Little Steel, but because he has shown himself unskillful and awkward in day-to-day politics. Recently he appeared at the White House with a proposal for the nationalization of the anthracite-coal industry. Mr. Roosevelt took a lively interest in his plan, but in the end sent him away empty-handed. The White House advisers—particularly the backers of Mr. Robert H. Jackson—are reported to have turned against Mr. Earle, and his term as crown prince is over.

What makes the Pennsylvania situation especially interesting to politicians is that it affords the first test of the "balance-of-power" theory held by many officials in Labor's Non-Partisan League. Mr. Gifford Pinchot is again a candidate for the Republican nomination for Governor, and is considered to have an excellent chance of obtaining it. It is not thought that Mr. Lewis either could, or would wish

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he admittedly could take enough votes from the regular Democratic nominee to give the election to Mr. Pinchot. Holding this potential weapon, Mr. Lewis is supposed to be negotiating with the Democratic leaders on something like even terms.

Mr. Roosevelt merits a white mark for his reappointment of Mr. Maurice M. Milligan as district attorney of Kansas City. Mr. Milligan has sent a small regiment of Democratic party workers in Kansas City to jail for election frauds, and the Pendergast machine has brought all possible pressure on the White House to prevent his being renamed. Mr. Roosevelt's action is particularly creditable, since Mr. Milligan's reappointment will bring political profit to Senator Bennett Clark, a leader in the fight against the Court plan and sworn enemy of the New Deal.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

World Peace for the World's Fair

CHAIRMAN DOUGLAS of the SEC told the Stock Exchange to clean house or be taken to the cleaners. The answer was a reform movement on the Exchange and a plan for a paid executive instead of the member president. The idea behind this was to give the Exchange an official disciplinarian who would reform it and make it behave.

But suppose that in selecting an executive head the Exchange were to name a man, not so much to reform it, as to reform the SEC? Suppose the Exchange went into Democratic semi-lobbying circles and selected as its head some Democratic bigwig because he had a latch-key to the doors of influence and power in Washington. The whole subject of the reform would be thwarted.

A report from Washington last week would seem to indicate that that is precisely what the Exchange is meditating. But the SEC has the power to approve or disapprove any set-up the Exchange makes and it might be well for the SEC to convey delicately to the Exchange the information that under no circumstances will it approve the naming of a lobbyist to break down SEC discipline rather than a leader to break down Exchange members' reluctance to reform.

Perhaps Maury Maverick can be induced to change the form of his resolution calling on the President to summon a disarmament conference. Would it not be better to make a start by calling a peace conference between Japan and Secretary Hull? The Secretary has been at war with Japan for over a month, although, in conformity with the best custom, he has not yet formally declared war. He has, however, been issuing almost daily communiqués, fabricating explosive propaganda, stirring the patriotic sentiments of the American people and publishing tales of such atrocities as the slapping of an American envoy by a Japanese private, in an effort to get the American people to go to war on his side against the Japanese.

[illegible] mobilized and on the march. Unless General Hull is restrained, or unless an armistice can be arranged between him and the Japanese, the story may develop to a crisis which may be headlined: "Buck Hull Rides Alone." For this reason it would be a great aid to peace if General Hull could be induced to interrupt his warlike maneuvers long enough to talk peace with the Emperor. Or if he could be induced to go away for a few weeks to cool off before Kaufman and Hart capture him and put him on the stage.

On the larger question of a world conference, I suggest that it be a peace conference rather than for mere disarmament. And I urge that it be called by President Roosevelt himself and fixed for 1939 and made an attraction at the New York World's Fair and that all the details be turned over to Grover Whalen.

The President himself has indicated—a year or two ago—that he would like to sit down with the responsible heads of various governments and talk turkey about peace. Very wisely he made it plain that he did not want to deal with anybody but monarchs or dictators. He didn't want to waste time talking with mere figureheads like the British Premier. He wanted to talk directly with King George VI himself; no mere nonentity like Mussolini, but face to face with the real power in Italy, King Victor Emanuel. This idea could be revived. Last week Mr. Whalen himself announced that he was arranging for a grand display of crack troops in full uniform from all the nations of the world in one gorgeous, glittering military pageant. Why could not the two be combined—the sovereigns and their retinues and their crack troops could all come together, and the peace conference could be held in the great stadium of the Fair, with a good stiff admission charge, all arranged around President Roosevelt and a microphone.

Of course one drawback to a peace conference like this would be that we might not get much peace out of it. But that is true of any kind of peace conference you can call now. This one would have the advantage of being the kind of peace conference the President would like and it would take our minds off our domestic problems. And that is what we need. For if we can once get our people to stop thinking about our domestic problems they will disappear—the domestic problems, not the people.

That, at least, is the theory of many notable figures in our great country. It is a well known fact that the law of supply and demand does not work if the voters stop thinking about it. When a depression comes along or a dust storm or a drought or a Ku Klux Klan uprising or anything of the sort which the reigning statesman doesn't know how to deal with, the important thing is to create a diversion. And this would certainly be a grand and glittering diversion. With King George and King Victor Emanuel, King Farouk and Hitler and the Emperor of Japan and King Gustav and King Carol and all the others, including some Oriental potentates and their camels and all the colorful troops—it would be indeed a splendid peace fiesta in the true Whalen-Roosevelt manner. And if it didn't bring peace, it would at least roll 'em in the aisles and put the Fair over with a bang. It would be a wow.

JOHN T. FLYNN

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Mr. Miller's Importations

Once Is Enough, by Frederick Lonsdale. Henry Miller's Theatre, February 15, 1938.
Murder in the Cathedral, by T. S. Eliot. The Ritz Theatre, February 16, 1938.

THE LONSDALE COMEDY, "Once Is Enough," that Mr. Gilbert Miller has brought over, concerns his usual world of people—though it is eight seasons now since he has shown them to us. The Duke of Hampshire's house is filled with the same friendly hatred and engaging boredom as we saw of old in other Lonsdale houses, the same social, gastric and sexual complications. The Duke himself (Johnny) has been drawn away from his wife by a lady who is willing to get a divorce and marry him. The Duchess, however, loving her husband wisely, manages.

In general, "Once Is Enough" falls somewhat below the Lonsdale market average of entertainment, but the milieu involved, half fiction, half fact, half record and half footlights, still ensures a passable evening. It is an evening that supplies a definite demand, caters to a very finite and numerous stratum of people who have dined well, or who are looking for a play at which their dinner guests can arrive late, leave early, or do as they please generally, and yet have something left to talk about.

Nobody understands better than Mr. Gilbert Miller how to leave such an entertainment on the plane where it belongs. He manages everything with just the right touch of sophistication; he gives it exactly the degree of theatrical snobbism that is required for the varnishing. His casting for such a play is much shrewder than some may divine; Mrs. Playdell (Viola Keats), for instance, the lady who attracts the Duke, is not voluptuous and obvious; there is something about her that for such a man confuses the physical attraction he feels with a seemingly rarer and finer quality implied in her very appearance. It must be said in fact that the amenities of this occasion should be credited really to Mr. Miller. Its mildly diverting and epigrammatic postprandial elements are variously distributed among him, the playwright and the company. Of this company Miss Ina Claire (the Duchess of Hampshire), as the featured star, plays with her usual animation and stage security. Her performance otherwise shows few signs of any study or search for any revealing values or interesting stage design.

Mr. T. S. Eliot's play "Murder in the Cathedral" was produced in March, 1936, by the Popular Priced Theatre, a division of the Federal Theatre, and at that time was widely reviewed. So that it remains now to speak not so much of the play directly, but rather of the English production that is brought to us. This production, under the supervision of Mr. Ashley Dukes, has been given for two years in the British Isles, and bears the stamp, I should imagine, of Mr. Eliot's oversight and approval. It may be regarded, therefore, as the final version; whatever we are to think of the play will be applied to it.

Compared with the New York production of two seasons ago, this English version offers in the first place far less pageantry, less of a theatrical feast for the eye, so to speak, and less of a certain rapture—easily understood by all—in the general mood and particularly in the leading character, the martyred Archbishop. On the other hand, the English version clears the way much more completely for a direct and intelligent regard of the writing itself. If it is less infectious as theatre in the mass—the color, trumpets and general emotions—it is far more absorbing as mind, analysis and point. It is much closer to a just exposure of the poet's meaning and economy. It is more discreet, measured and frankly complex. At the same time it is more of a tax on our attention and a spell cast on our minds. Humility, as Mr. Allen Tate remarks in his essay on T. S. Eliot, is subjective, a quality of the moral character; and is thus general, to be inferred rather than seen. The visible, particular and objective instance of humility is irony, which is the objective quality of an event or situation that stimulates our capacity for humility. In some superb and elusive manner the elements of humility and irony pervade this English interpretation.

There is also an amazing exactitude, the result of understanding and practice, in the timing especially. And by a superb contrivance, an esthetic tact in the execution, a balance is kept between the simple and the complex: in certain highly complicated passages an emotional line is achieved that is simple and compelling; and at times a most shaken, subtle and complicated emotional moment is held intellectually to the single line of meaning we need to get from it. Images marvelous, literal and precise are given so truly their just weight and value that they only magnify our response; complexities in the sound-structure are so managed as to concentrate our attention.

At the time of its first production I said that "Murder in the Cathedral" as theatre seemed to me an astonishing combination of the simple and difficult, the almost impossible really. Even with endless drilling, years of it, the effect of the chorus' speaking all together, those women of Canterbury, with all they have to say, seemed to me doubtful; I doubted if it could ever come off. In Latin that problem is more readily solved, provided the sense is simple or repetitious and the training, as it has often been in the Church, arduous; but our language has seemed less promising for such ends. In this English production a great many more of the lines of the chorus are said in unison by all the women together, so that I am most grateful for a chance to see this problem thus tested. The admirable English spoken and the care with which the speakers are trained seemed to me to guarantee that this was as well as the thing could be done. The result will please some, and some not. I listened faithfully. My conclusion was that up to two lines the whole chorus speaking was effective, but that, as far as I was concerned, after two lines or so it was not quite satisfactory. Sometimes, in fact, it seemed inorganic, in the sense that the meanings and subdivisions in the details did not seem to accord with a number of persons speaking, instead of a single one. Sometimes the mere sound itself was for my ear tiresome and in the way.

The freeing of the full beauty of the play that this production achieved is a theatre accomplishment of the first rank technically. The play through such means stands embodied, intact and exposed. To be seen. To be judged.

Considered thus, the major proportion of the play is of prime splendor and importance among modern plays written in English. At the same time the question as to whether it

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both the thought and the expression, is theatric is a matter that only years and the developments within the theatre can answer. Mr. Robert Speaight is a remarkable choice for the Becket of this play. The mask itself, the flexible voice, the air of completeness, or separateness, almost of infatuation, seem astonishingly right; he is not so much attractive as entirely convincing. The scene is a cathedral section, with the strong forms of the twelfth century.

STARK YOUNG

Gone Are the Days

DAVID O. SELZNICK's colored-candy version of "The Adventures of Tom Sawyer" should make Mark Twain circulate in his grave like a trout in a creel—sentimentalist though the old boy was, partial though he was to the black-and-white, the character bromide. Twain used a rather crude story, but mainly to hold together all the details of remembered boyhood, the houses, back fences, the church and schoolroom and busy kitchens at suppertime, in the little town on the great river. Swimming and pirates and glassies, fish hooks, hoptoads, bare feet and Saturday chores, and behind-the-ears inspection, and walking past Her house—all the fearful adventures and penalties of that lost country restored to the mind with a sort of perfection in miniature. And since the outward form of that boyhood has passed as surely away as the busy quiet town on the old Mississippi (its main form has shifted even in our own time), the book has above its own endearments the quaint charm of history.

Well, Messrs. David O. Selznick and Norman Taurog are busy men in a million-dollar venture. They got a book here, a classic; they got a script for it even; a production date, a location. So make a picture. But high class. All right, they comb the country for ideal actors; they build sets, beautiful sets, every last detail cross-checked for historical accuracy; they figure angles and costumes and how to get every precious happening (it's a classic, ain't it?) into the story. All precautions have to be tripled because the film is done in color. They work with all the energy and skill at their command week after week, a small army of them, a small city of the arts—and what do they get?

The Film Library of the Museum of Modern Art has built its "Making of a Movie" exhibit around this picture, showing from script revisions and location diagrams to costumes, sets and sneak previews the amazing resource and patience that were behind its millions of things and dollars. But the Film Library exhibit gives the tip-off. In one panel there are specimens of correspondence with Joe (Seal) Breen and with the British office, all about making this film safe for English exhibitors, Catholics and kiddies. Selznick, however, is so imbued with the classicism of this story that in one place he goes so far as to say that if the British censor laws rule out his main scene in the church, then to hell with the British—he'll make it anyway and provide an alternate sequence for England. He agrees to go light on kids swimming naked, the whipping of Tom, Injun Joe's violence and death; words that might Give Offense ("Lord" is one) are to be deleted; and in one place there is a rather quaint note of protest against required excision: "The Biblical quotations you [this to old Watch and Ward Breen himself] drew our attention to, such as 'Spare the rod and spoil the child,' 'Virtue is its own reward,' are not actual Biblical quotations"—on account of they come from Shakespeare and Browning, who were only poets. Thus it goes, and the real point of pre-censorship is still only implicit, because there exists from the start a *pre*-pre-censorship attitude on the part of all worried producers, a nervous watchfulness lest any real flavor get in to degrade the mix of Dignity and Good Taste appropriate to classics. The Film Library exhibit shows the vast and intricate workings of the movie industry. But it has nothing to say about the actual *making* of a movie: there is no word expressed here of the real mood and meaning of the thing—scads of research about what Huck Finn might have worn; of his immortal figure, nothing.

As to the picture itself, the infancy of color photography provides the exact comment: that painted sky, that punkin-moonshine moon, that roadshow-opera version of gypsyish rags and tatters—what more of life and feeling can they describe than the sentiments of a picture postcard? The story of the original is baddy melodrama at best—it's not for the *story* that Tom Sawyer lives in memory. But with unerring touch these people follow the story, parading its episodes stiffly, squeezing each character and episode for more emotional pulp than Twain himself ever conceived. As to the casting, the final choice led inevitably to the well smoked ham type (*vide* May Robson's Aunt Polly) or to youngsters so cute and colorless and eager that inveterate mugging could be taught them in two easy lessons.

In motion the picture is so pretty and futile that there would be no need to mention it at all if it were not for the finger it points. In spite of the unconscious gayety and tiny evil of the kids in things like "La Maternelle" and the newer French ones about to be shown here ("La Merlusse" and "Generals without Buttons"), in spite of the fine and more advanced child psychology of "Mädchen" and "Captains Courageous" and "Poil de Carotte" and "The Devil Is a Sissy" and "Boy of the Streets"—in spite of all that has been done for and accepted as truth by the people, it is still assumed that in the case of one of the stories dearest to the popular heart, the people want a chocolate-marshmallow sundae, with nuts, and have elected as expressions of their will the Messrs. Hays, Breen, Quigley and their whole auxiliary of dull but militant battle-axes. I prefer to give the people a better break. Stupid they are, yes; but more than that, they are inert. Busy as they are on their own precarious business of staying alive and liking it, their combined quiescence and innate gullibility give franchise on lesser matters to a prime collection of time-servers, ego-preeners and out-and-out political quacks, the like of which has rarely been seen.

Young men of faith, ability and a purpose will constantly arise to confound any such self-constituted authority. But these attempts so far are sporadic, too occupied with the working of an art itself to cope with the log-rolling organization set up to stifle it. Some day a shrewd fellow is going to rally the American people against the minority strivers who have put a ring in their nose; and he is probably going to achieve this by dark and bloody ways. It will be very regrettable—but it will be poetically just. Mr. Hays, Mr. Breen, Mr. Quigley and their kind are a little too stupid to see that their course of restriction cannot be tolerated l

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the slow inevitable growth of such a healthy popular art. A "David Copperfield" is made, and makes money; a "Tom Sawyer" is made and *it* makes money. But rising behind these successes, encouraged by the life and meaning of pictures less classic and more satisfying, there is a potential source of strength. May not the ship desert sinking rats? Arise, folks, and spit in their eye. OTIS FERGUSON

The Bandwagon

American newsprint manufacturers today indorsed proposed rail-freight increases before the Interstate Commerce Commission, but asked that newsprint be exempted from the proposed 15-percent rate advance. – *Washington dispatch to The New York World-Telegram.*

Q. Why do we have four separate records of the earthly life of the Lord Jesus? A. Because it has pleased God to have it so. – *From the Question Box on the Bible in The Atlanta, Ga., Constitution.*

What true-life stories will appeal to which magazines? Well . . . The Saturday Evening Post wouldn't turn down the well written tale of a captain of industry who was once a poor barefoot boy with little or no education and a job in the steel mills. – *From an article in The Writer's Digest.*

Like Other Workmen?

A broad-shouldered young man, who says little but works hard . . . is Blaine Fairless . . . son of Benjamin F. Fairless, president of the U. S. Steel Corporation. . . . Young Fairless, who is in his early twenties, does not enjoy any special privileges. If his work takes him into the mill for the entire day he must carry his lunch as other workmen. The next two weeks will not see Blaine at the plant for he has told his superior, Joseph Flaherty, chief metallurgist, he is going to Florida with his parents. – *News item in The Pittsburgh Sun-Telegraph.*

Back and Forth?

The United States moved in two important directions today to clarify its position in the Far East. – *Washington dispatch to The Christian Science Monitor.*

Hoop-Snake Department

There is something rotten when vicious circles like these begin devouring their own tails. – *L. M. Albright, a Chicago business man, whose complaint against the New Deal appears in The Chicago Tribune.*

Better Get Your Emotions Lifted, In Fact

Remember, a cruise is all play, all fun. You are supposed to frolic, be lazy, gay, charming, demure, romantic, sophisticated, naïve, exotic, brilliant—or even melancholy if you think it goes well with your eyes. So be sure to dress for a good time. – *Publicity matter sent out on behalf of the Christmas-New Year's cruise to the Bahamas of the liner "Pilsudski" by the Gdynia-American line.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Our New Dress

SIR. Many congratulations on your new face. It was about time that the most modern periodical being issued today should get itself a format in keeping with the caliber of its contents. . . . While your aim should always remain above all to reach the dormant intelligence of the reader, in our time of raucous and vivid eye appeal the effect of neat and striking make-up cannot be overlooked.

Brooklyn, N. Y. I. WOLF

SIR: I have just received my New Republic in its new dress. Wish I could congratulate you but I can't, for I don't like it nearly as well as the old style, mainly because I have reached the age when my eyes are not so good and I find the new type not so easily read as before. . . . If you were anybody or anybodies other than you are I would suspect it was a manifestation of the supposedly feminine desire for change regardless of whether or not it was an improvement. . . .

Lynden, Wash. E. EDSON

SIR: I think you have done an excellent work in changing the typographical style of The New Republic into an even more readable form than we readers had previously admired. . . . Modern life crowds our hours more and more. So I thank you for the more simple and clarified style. . . .

East Lynn, Mass. GEORGE E. BERRY

SIR: There was a vague suggestion of nostalgia for the old format of The Saturday Review and its extreme typographical clarity when I looked into the new format of yours. . . . And thank the gods that Josephy insisted on enough space between the lines. There is only one thing I would suggest: Use the more modern rules thickened in the middle.

But how the darn thing did read! Blame Caslon.

West Des Moines, Ia. MARK THOMPSON

Justice to John Treanor

SIR: Apropos of John T. Flynn's article in The New Republic for December 22, reprinting John Treanor's now-famous letter to the chairman of the Cement Code Authority, someone should explain what Treanor's views really were, in justice to a sincere and outspoken industrialist who is dead and cannot speak for himself. He expounded them fully to me when he engaged me to make a study of the cement basing-point system.

By the "free competition" which the industry could not stand, he meant a state of chaotic and secret price-cutting in

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which each sale tended to become a separate bargain, no one knew what competitors were charging to particular customers, and there was no open market. By "restraining competition" he meant getting rid of this chaos (as some industries do by legal forms of open-price systems) so that a producer would quote a price scale openly and stick to it until he openly changed it; and then would change the scale as a whole, not make special reductions to particular buyers.

Competition on these terms Treanor approved and welcomed to the fullest extent. The basing-point system was the only way he saw to obtain this result in this industry. One may disagree with his theory of the economics of the system; the present point is merely that this was the theory he held. His letter was not an admission that the system was monopolistic, though it laid itself open to this interpretation; largely, I think, owing to the force of his reaction against what he regarded as "bunk and hypocrisy." It was written during the NRA code period, when restraints on "destructive" competition were the order of the day. Were he writing today, he would explain himself more fully, as I have tried to do.

Westport, Conn. J. M. CLARK

Non-Resistance and Fanaticism

SIR: I enthusiastically applaud Bruce Bliven's "This Is Where I Came In" [The New Republic, January 5]. But I question one sentence therein: "Nobody believes in non-resistance, except a tiny handful of religious fanatics."

Are Bertrand Russell and Aldous Huxley religious fanatics? Hardly! They hold, on purely utilitarian grounds, that war has become so destructive that it is inexpedient for any nation to resort to arms, whatever the circumstances. They want Britain to disarm whether other countries disarm or not.

Collective homicide (Novikov's accurate definition of war) is inherently the ultimate in folly. The issue of war, victory or defeat is relatively unimportant. Inevitably both sides suffer, and in the long run with approximate equality. And both sides in war sink so far below the brutes that any moral difference between them is negligible.

It would have been vastly better for Ethiopia to make the best terms possible with Italy, attempting no military resistance. It matters little which side wins in Spain compared with the immeasurable loss which coming generations must suffer in that unhappy land. And the Chinese, alas, are not now exhibiting the practical wisdom for which they are distinguished. In the past they have conquered their conquerors by a less costly method than they they are now employing.

Non-resistance, in the sense of utterly repudiating collective homicide, is not the fantastic notion of a few religious fanatics. It is the unmistakable dictate of common sense.

Newton Centre, Mass. HENRY W. PINKHAM

It Doesn't Happen in Brazil

SIR: Dr. Jerome Davis' splendid article "It Did Happen in Brazil," published in your issue of February 9, calls, however, for the correction of a statement therein contained in which the author declares that "the Negroes marry freely with the Portuguese."

Such a statement might have rather been a quotation of a reply given to Dr. Davis' question by some otherwise nice Nordic informant hiding his or her ignorance with the easy statement explaining, with an untruth, a condition of the ethnological composite of the Brazilian population.

Brazilian marriage records do not show any indication on which Dr. Davis' statement could be based; while illegitimate alliances or cohabitation between Negro women and white immigrant laborers are no less determined in Brazil by the economic question than they are in Africa by the scarcity of white women, *marriages* between the two races are exceptional.

The marriage of a white woman to a Negro (as for instance in the case of your famous pugilist Jack Johnson) is, in Brazil, a case of extremely rare occurrence.

Finally, although the Portuguese have conclusively proved themselves outstanding colonists and do have sincere respect for man regardless of the nature of his pigment, frequently preferring to associate culturally with Negroes with white souls rather than Whites with Negro souls, the fact is that the Negro population of Portugal is only 2½ percent, while, for comparison's sake only, that of America is 10 percent.

New York City A. DE OLIVEIRA AGUAS

An Auction for Spain

SIR: The League of American Writers is holding a sale of manuscripts and letters which should be of interest to readers of The New Republic who live in New York City. The sale will be held Friday evening, March 25, at the Barbizon Plaza Hotel, and proceeds will go to the Medical Bureau of the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy.

Among the outstanding items on our list are the first manuscripts by Professor Albert Einstein and Booth Tarkington ever to be offered for sale. Van Wyck Brooks has contributed the manuscript of "The Flowering of New England," Ralph Bates has given us the manuscript of "Lean Men," Lillian Hellman gave the manuscript of "The Children's Hour." American, English, French, German, Russian, Danish, Norwegian and Spanish authors are represented, including Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Edna St. Vincent Millay, James Stephens, Sigmund Freud, Sylvia Townsend Warner, Thomas Mann, H. D. and Archibald MacLeish. Catalogues may be obtained from the League of American Writers, 381 Fourth Avenue.

New York City MARJORIE FISHER

Another Student Looks at War

SIR: Contrary to "A College Sophomore Look at War" (January 19), are the views which I present of a college junior.

I won't kid myself any longer either. History has taught me the futility of war. I have also learned that history has a curious habit of repeating itself.

Yes, the "Panay" incident did anger me too. But it did not arouse in me a desire for vengeance. Rather it led me to seek the answers to a number of provoking questions. What was the "Panay" doing in China? Why, after President Roosevelt had declared that all Americans who remained in China did so at their own risk, did an American gunboat act as convoy to Standard Oil tankers? And finally, why should millions of peace-loving people become embroiled in a war to save the property interests of the Standard Oil Company?

Of course, I can't remember the events which dragged the United States into the last war. But I know enough to realize that the situation today is hardly different. Certainly no war will be fought to "make the world safe for democracy," no matter what the propagandists may say. It will, instead, be for the glory of Standard Oil or other imperialists. I, for one, am not interested in seeing American bloood shed in the interests of imperialism.

The only fighting spirit that has overtaken me as a consequence of recent events is not a desire to go to war, but one to fight against those who are attempting to bring war upon us. No, *if* war comes, I will not be swept away with the mob in the tide of hysteria. I shall, under any conditions, remain calm. And after a calm analysis of the situation I am certain that my decision will be an unconditional refusal to be led to the slaughter.

New York City LEON POTASH.

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From The New Republic Mail Bag

Through a typographical error a line was omitted from Mr. Sidney Hook's letter printed under the heading "Broun v. Dewey" in the February 16 issue. The second sentence in the second paragraph should have read: "Part of the public oath which all members of the Communist Party are required to take is 'to drive the Lovestoneites out of the labor movement' and 'to drive the Trotskyites out of the labor movement.' " . . . Sara Baranca of Chicago writes protesting the proposed curtailment or possible abolition of the Federal Fine Arts Projects on grounds of "the need to economize." These projects have been called "high-priced because the personnel receives higher wages than the workers on other WPA projects. Such reasoning is fallacious and such economy specious, since the cost of materials on these projects is almost negligible." Miss Baranca points out the extreme need of employment opportunities and the waste involved in cutting off valuable work that is well under way.

John Switalski of Chicago, writing about Malcolm Cowley's review of the reviewers (February 2 and February 9), remarks that there were no indications either on the jacket of "The Big Money" by John Dos Passos, or in the advertising about it, to indicate that it was the third part of a trilogy. He suspects a plot designed to increase sales of both "The Big Money" and the complete one-volume trilogy that is now on sale. . . . Charles F. Reid, editor of the Bibliography of the American Possessions, announces a series of comprehensive bibliographies of all the American Possessions which will be sent free upon request to all public schools, public libraries, colleges and universities, governmental offices and private foundations. The lists have been compiled through funds furnished by the WPA under the sponsorship of the College of the City of New York. Requests should be sent to Mr. Reid at CCNY, Convent Avenue and One Hundred and Thirty-ninth Street, New York City. . . . A. Layne of New York City writes an enthusiastic letter in praise of Guenter Reimann's "Five Years of Hitler-Capitalism" (February 3). He feels it extremely important to point out that not even the capitalists in Germany are happy under Nazism.

What's on the Air?

Dr. James B. Conant, president of Harvard University, speaks at the convention of the American Association of School Administrators, Wednesday, March 2, 8 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Representative Jennings Randolph of West Virginia speaks on "Making Democracy Work," Wednesday, March 2, 10:45 P.M., CBS.

Dr. William E. Dodd, former United States Ambassador to Berlin, speaks on "Civil Liberties," Saturday, March 5, 3 P.M., CBS.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include the Metropolitan Opera Company's broadcast of Verdi's "Aida," Saturday, February 26, 1:55 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; "The Birds" by Aristophanes, Saturday, February 26, 5 P.M., NBC-Red Network; a Columbia Workshop dramatization of Stewart Hawkins' "Night Patrol," Saturday, February 26, 8 P.M., CBS; Modern Age Books' dramatization of "US1" and "Lighthouse," Saturday, February 26, 9:30 P.M., WABC; Arturo Toscanini and the NBC Symphony Orchestra, Saturday, February 26, 10 P.M., NBC-Red and Blue Networks; Rose Pauly as soloist with the Philharmonic-Symphony Society of New York, Sunday, February 27, 3 P.M., CBS; the Rochester Philharmonic Orchestra with José Iturbi conducting, Thursday, March 3, 8:45 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; and a Radio Guild presentation of Sheridan's "The Critic," Friday, March 4, 3 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

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Books in Review

Apocalypse

ONE EXPECTS André Malraux to do the impossible and always one is a little disappointed to find that he has faults like other novelists. His new book, "L'Espoir,"[1] was published in Paris at the end of 1937; it is now being translated by Stuart Gilbert, under supervision of the author. It is a very long novel that seems too continually tense, too crowded with heroic or tragic incidents, as if Malraux had emptied everything he knew and saw and heard about the Spanish civil war into this one big container. And it bears the marks of extreme haste—even in the proofreading—as if the author had hurried to make his contribution while the battle still hung in the balance. But for all that, it is the best book Malraux has written and incomparably the best book on the war in Spain.

Beginning with the first day of the rebellion, he tries to tell the whole story, presenting each episode from the standpoint of men who took part in it, usually the leaders. He gives us the day of the barricades in Barcelona, when automobiles loaded with volunteers were driven against machine guns and cannon; the automobiles were wrecked, the volunteers killed to the last man, but the guns were silenced. He gives us the taking of the Montana Barracks, in Madrid, and the fighting in the Guadarramas, when the militiamen were armed with rifles that they scarcely knew how to shoot, yet held their lines against airplanes and heavy artillery. He gives us the pitiful, disorganized siege of the Alcazar; the utter rout of the militia; the miracle at Madrid, when Franco was stopped in his tracks by the first units of a new army; the methodical destruction of the city, in the days when it had no defense from the air; the coming of the first Russian planes; the retreat from Malaga, and finally—since the book has to end—the battle east of Guadalajara when the republican army won its first victory in the field. He gives us the atmosphere of enthusiasm, confusion, heroism and treachery that prevailed in the early months; the slow growth of order in the midst of chaos; and he makes us hear the radios at every street corner, blaring out their cheerful lies above the rat-tat of machine guns and the crash of hand grenades, like the chorus of a demented tragedy.

Through all this and behind all this, Malraux is telling another story that is the real theme of his novel. Why does the class struggle develop into a civil war between the classes? Why do men choose one side or the other? Why do they sacrifice their lives—even coming from distant countries to die in the trenches—instead of making a separate and individual peace with things as they are? And what is required of them if they are to achieve their vision of the good life? Marx had answered these questions chiefly in economic terms; Malraux tries to answer them psychologically. And the battles and executions he describes are only the background or, let us say, the expression in action of an agonized debate—Catholic against anarchist against communist against liberal; each man, in the face of death, stating the ideals for which he hopes to live.

In the course of this debate, several of the characters make observations that strike deeply into the moral problems of our own age. It isn't quite fair to Malraux to quote these observations separately, since each of them is embodied in a context that explains and enforces it. Still, they are valuable in themselves and they tell the story behind his novel. Here are a few of them:

Says a wounded man, explaining why he has been fighting against the fascists: "To tell you the truth, I don't want to be looked down on, I don't want to be humiliated. . . . That's the main point. The rest doesn't really matter. As for money, you're right: perhaps I could have got my share from the rich people. But they want to be respected too, and I'm not willing to respect them."

Says Manuel, a young Communist officer: "At heart the fascists always believe in the race of those who give orders. The Germans aren't fascists because they are racists; they are racists because they are fascists. Every fascist gives orders by divine right."

Says Garcia, formerly an ethnologist, now a major in the Intelligence Service: "The People's Front is, among other things, the union of all those who hate to humiliate or be humiliated. Take a village before the rebellion and imagine two shopkeepers, one with us, one against us. The one who was with us wanted friendliness, the other wanted to be haughty. The need for fraternity as against the passion for hierarchy is a very important opposition in this country—and perhaps in some others."

Says Garcia again, after listening to the songs and cheers that rise from the streets of revolutionary Madrid: "What we hear through the window, M. Magnin, is the apocalypse of fraternity. It stirs you, and I can see why: it is one of the most stirring things that exist in this world, and it isn't often seen. But it must be transformed, *on pain of death.* . . . In any struggle, after a short time, the desire for an apocalypse makes defeat certain, and for a very simple reason: by its very nature, the apocalypse *has no future.* Not even when it pretends to have one. Our modest function, M. Magnin, is to organize the apocalypse."

Says an anarchist, explaining his philosophy of revolution: "No 'dialectic,' no bureaucrats in the place of delegates, no army to end armies, no inequality to end inequality, no united front with the bourgeois. Live as life should be lived, beginning today, or else die. If the whole thing goes smash, so long, goodbye. No round-trip tickets." But Garcia answers him: "My dear Negus, when you decide that revolution is a way of life in itself, it almost always becomes a way of dying."

Later Garcia talks to a brave but unhappy and wavering captain, one of the few liberals in the old army: "The communists want to *do* something. You and the anarchists, for different reasons, want to *be* something. . . . You insist on comparing what you see with what you dream of. But action can be conceived only in terms of action. In order to think politically you must compare one concrete thing

[1] L'Espoir, by André Malraux. Paris: Gallimard. 27 francs.

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with another, one possibility with another—our side, *or Franco;* this organization, or a different one—but not an organization with a desire, a dream or an apocalypse."

Very often Garcia, the man of science turned soldier, seems to be speaking for the author himself. In a scene that is played against the background of Madrid in flames, he argues with Scali, an Italian anti-fascist who seems to express the attiude of Ignazio Silone. It is as if one great writer were confronting another; as if the intellectual idealist were being answered by an intellectual who is also a man of action. I won't try to summarize the discussion for fear of distorting it. But at one point Scali says, "Tell me, Major, what do you think that a man can best do with his life?" Garcia answers, "He can transform into consciousness the broadest possible experience." That is the goal Malraux has set for himself and the purpose by which he is distinguished from other novelists. He takes the broadest and deepest experience possible to men of our time—that of a revolutionary crisis—and, in books like "Man's Fate" and "L'Espoir," he gives it conscious expression.

MALCOLM COWLEY

The House That Built Hitler

The House That Hitler Built, by Stephen H. Roberts. New York: Harper and Brothers. 392 pages. $3.

AMERICANS are a moral people; they never forget that it was Cain, a despicable character, who said: "Am I my brother's keeper?" But they seldom stop to reflect on the circumstance that Cain was, after all, a murderer. The sin of Cain was not that he refused to accept responsibility; his sin was that he had already assumed complete proprietorship of the life of Abel. His rhetorical question proves something about hypocrisy; it proves nothing about duty.

Like most Americans, I was caught at the age of eight by the usual Sunday-school misinterpretation of the Cain fable. And to this day I can be moved by its false application. Whenever an eloquent proponent of collective security such as Archibald MacLeish quotes Cain in an attempt to argue me into an assumption of watch-and-wardship for the world's democracies, I feel like a louse because I don't go out and enlist for Spain. But then I remember that Cain was a murderer.

This may, in its implications and assumptions, be smug of me, but I don't think so. Nor do books such as Stephen H. Roberts' "The House That Hitler Built" tend to show that we isolationists are in a class with Cain. The other day, when it seemed for a brief second as though the German army might oust Hitler, I visited the newsstands every fifteen minutes with my hopes running high. I would gladly see Hitler put to most of the tortures of the Inquisition. But this is pure emotionalism. After all, Hitler and Hitlerism are not capricious phenomena; they are facts rooted in historical necessity, and Americans are powerless to alter these facts. They might as well realize it now before they fight a war in the attempt to alter them. As Charles A. Beard has said, this country is not smart enough to settle the problems of a continent that is encrusted in the blood-rust of centuries. This book shows us why.

Professor Roberts is an Australian historian who has specialized in the subject of post-war Europe. He spent sixteen months of unshepherded travel through Nazi Germany gathering material for this book. His perspective is antipodal, his bias is liberal, his intelligence is keen. And he never makes the mistake of letting his moral indignation obscure the facts that are under his nose.

As he demonstrates, the key to an understanding of Germany is to be found in geography. There are 66,000,000 people in the Reich—or maybe, with the Austrian *Anschluss* seemingly lurking just beyond this week's New Republican deadline, the figure should be set at 72,500,000. These Germans live in a land that is even less suited for autarchy than Italy; they *must* import nickel, tungsten, chromium, bauxite, molybdenum, asbestos. They have only a third of the iron ore they need, and the addition of Austria's famous "iron mountain" won't make up the difference. Their copper comes from far-off Chile. Vegetable oils are a problem, so is cotton. To make matters worse, the Germans have nothing which other nations must buy to live; their exportable raw-material surpluses are limited to potash and coal. On the basis of these facts Germany ought to be a third-rate power. Yet the 66,000,000—or 72,500,000—Germans breathe a clear, tingling, northern air; they don't feel third-rate. They may have a racial inferiority complex, but on the objective level—which is the level that counts—this adds up to self-confident truculence and belief in a "mission." The Germans have always known danger, for their land was a disputed crossroads long before the Teutonic Knights built their castles in the eastern marches to ward off the paynim. In all their history the Germans have never yet fought with their backs to the wall. The reason is simple: they have no wall.

These being the simple, salient facts, Germany will always be a problem for France and Middle Europe—not necessarily for England and the United States—as long as she exists in a competitive world. The French can talk about security, but it will do no good. Cordell Hull may dream about recovering the free-trade world of Cobden and Bright, but the Germans have never accepted that world, and they cannot accept it now for the obvious reason that outside of proximity to the Danube basin they lack natural competitive advantages. Hence the utter futility of deploring the Germans, of shaking mournful heads about their "gangster" leaders, their frightful militarism, their unwillingness to live at peace in Central Europe. There was a time, back in 1919 and for a few years in the 1920's, when statesmen of, say, the caliber of Metternich might have created a liberal, peace-loving Germany. After all, Napoleon was a gangster in his day, yet the Congress of Vienna did not load post-Napoleonic France with humiliating burdens. The awful, horrible, degrading fact is that England and France are to blame for the Germans of the 1930's; Jews, liberals and Marxists can point straight to Versailles and say: "You murdered our future." Hitler is England's monster, he is France's monster. He is not America's monster, for Woodrow Wilson was out of his depth among the men who ran the show at Versailles.

This is the moral lesson of Mr. Roberts' book. Factually, the story he has to tell is pretty familiar as to its outlines. Heiden, Lichtenberger, Robert Brady, Ernst Henri, Edgar Ansell Mowrer, Dorothy Thompson and innumerable contributors to the magazines have explored the nature of

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the Hitler movement, its fated *Walpurgisnacht* romanticism, its triumvirate of Hitler-Goering-Goebbels. But Mr. Roberts, being less dogmatic than other writers, is paradoxically sharper. He knows that fascism is moving toward war, and so do we all. But he is not fool enough to try to judge the tempo. Henri, on wholly plausible grounds, painted a picture some years ago of Goering suddenly swooping out of the skies to raze Paris or London. But Goering did not swoop on Paris or London; instead, German planes swooped on Madrid. As things worked out, Madrid is still standing—which means that London or Paris would be still standing. For this and other reasons it is dangerous to dogmatize about the end—or the immediate means—of Hitlerism. The cat may jump toward Czechoslovakia tomorrow; or it may not jump before 1942. In any event, Mr. Roberts thinks the Czechs will give a good account of themselves.

The best things in "The House That Hitler Built" are the portraits of Nazi leaders. Mr. Roberts paints Hitler as a dreamy, neurotic Siegfried whose hatreds and desires happened to coincide with the hatreds and desires of the German lower-middle class; he is not so much a man as a symbol. But symbols, when minds and emotions are unanchored, are more important historically than men. And what if the symbol dies? Mr. Roberts says: "Watch Himmler." Himmler runs the Gestapo, which means that he has the power of life and death in Germany today. Mr. Roberts is backing him against Goering, Goebbels, the colorless Hess and the rest of the field to seize power in post-Hitler Germany.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Man's Greatest Enemy

Man Against Himself, by Karl A. Menninger. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. 496 pages. $3.75.

WHY IS IT that men try to destroy themselves? It is a subject we do not like to think about and commonly overlook in the belief that in almost everyone the will to live is dominant. Yet the psychiatrist knows that there is an impulse to self-destruction too, which operates in many who do not suspect its existence. It sometimes kills openly and directly, as in the suicide, but it often operates in more devious and less immediately effective ways. The ascetics, the martyrs, the neurotic invalids, the alcoholics, the criminals who seem to court detection and punishment, those who kill or maim their personalities through psychosis, those who mutilate themselves physically, those who bring on themselves a long series of surgical operations, those who are injured "accidentally on purpose," and finally, many who have bodily illness of a structural or organic nature which is, nevertheless, psychologically determined—all are suffering from the tendency to self-destruction.

Dr. Menninger in this book attempts to tell us why this tendency arises, and a little concerning what may be done about it. The illustrative case histories contain suggestions enough for a dozen novels that might rival Dostoevsky. They are all the more interesting because in virtually all the instances except those of ordinary suicide the victim does not understand what he is doing to himself, but blames fate, circumstances or enemies. These things may conspire to enforce the tendency, it is true, but something in the individual must be resonant to them in order that misfortune may be so effective. Many a person endures equal hardships and frustrations, even of an extreme nature, without succumbing.

We are all accustomed to the neurotic invalid, but laymen may be surprised to discover the overwhelming evidence that many accidents are unconsciously intended, or that perfectly genuine bodily illnesses like heart disease or peptic ulcer may result from emotional tension of which the patient has no knowledge.

The theme of the book sounds grim and pessimistic, but as with other branches of medicine, discovery of the true nature of the disease is half the battle, and lays the basis for possible cure. Not less fascinating than the description of typical cases is the author's analysis of the drives at work in them, and of the ways in which these drives have been altered so that their destructive results have been checked or reversed. A complete picture of any one personality would be so intricate as to defy summary in a short space, and different cases exhibit infinite variation. Dr. Menninger may be accused of oversimplification in fitting cases to his formula, yet there are a few illuminating generalizations that may be made. The person who tends to destroy himself is, for instance, often expressing hatred really felt against someone else, hatred not merely unsatisfied by aggression against its object, but repressed below the level of consciousness because of fear or guilt. Irrational guilt is likewise a powerful motive, as is an unsatisfied desire for love and attention.

Some authorities disagree with Dr. Menninger in his acceptance of the "death instinct" as a basic factor. They point out that no such "instinct" seems necessary as a postulate if one believes that the self-destructive tendency is merely aggression turned inwards, and that aggression is not necessarily destructive. The desire to kill, which seems so nearly universal and so thinly veneered by our civilization, may after all not be instinctive but merely a result of the thwarting of the creative urge, a thwarting that we have not learned how to render harmless in our rearing of children and our social order. If this is not so, then the hope that psychiatrists may help us in the end to prevent war, so eloquently expressed in the final chapter, will seem a slender one.

GEORGE SOULE

About People

My Ears Are Bent, by Joseph Mitchell. New York: Sheridan House. 284 pages. $2.50.

THERE ARE HUNDREDS of fancy feature writers scattered through the newspaper business, but few of them ever show up as the creative people they hope to be (sufficient unto the day is the newsprint thereof). Joseph Mitchell is an exception, that writer's mirage of a man who can cover an angle of the news neither inspiring in itself nor congenital to him, get the stuff in for the home edition, and still be able to collect it for a second or third reading.

Mitchell covers several dozen news angles in the life of metropolitan New York, from freak to human interest, from behind the lines on headline sensations to strippers, reefer smokers, the life of a bar and grill. In doing it he has a perfect talent for hitting off the human equation.

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He is neither supercilious nor taken in; not a gawk, not a sob-sister; not Lucius Beebe nor a press agent, nor Winchell. He's got to make a story each time, but he makes it from the approach of a good novelist. His characters are realized in terms of how the world sees them and how they see the world revolving around themselves.

What with humor, kindness, straight candor, dramatic talent and the balance of a point of view being so infrequent in the supplements, and what with the fierce restrictions of time and subject under which such writers work clearly in mind, we lift a cheer for the publication of a book like "My Ears Are Bent." But the questions still present themselves: Will Mr. Mitchell by his yeoman work help to elevate the craft of feature writing with its vitally larger audience? Or will all this news-must, deadline business merely serve to keep a man from writing in the more enduring literary forms? Joseph Mitchell's sympathy, eye and writing talents reveal themselves as among the things we really have to pay attention to. OTIS FERGUSON

Benjamin Franklin's Own Story, by Nathan G. Goodman. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 268 pages. $2.50.

TIME WAS when every proper American looked upon Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography as a mirror of all the virtues—at least, of those thirteen virtues, from temperance to humility, which for Franklin and his earnest contemporaries spelled the Good Life. Today this famous document exhales an odor of sanctity, of decorum and unctuousness little pleasing to our irreverent noses. Nevertheless, read in the context of its age, set against the background of a revolutionary spirit not to be again fully experienced until well into the twentieth century, the autobiography has still the power to move and instruct. Dr. Goodman, biographer of Benjamin Rush, conceived the idea of republishing it in full, with a supplementary chapter beginning where Franklin left off in 1760 and continuing until his death in 1790, using Franklin's own words wherever possible—taken from letters, reports, contributions to scientific bodies, etc. Regrettably short though it is, this section gives us, in brief, bold strokes, the portrait of a man whose courage, intelligence, shrewdness and versatility were the marvel of two continents. Moving politically from the extreme right as an upholder of British sovereignty to the far left as a champion of popular government always and everywhere; passing with ease from economics to philosophy and from philosophy to the secrets of lightning and the possibilities of—believe it or not—air-conditioning, the Franklin we see in Dr. Goodman's pages is the epitome of the American spirit at its best.

HAROLD WARD

Letters to a Friend, by Winifred Holtby. New York: The Macmillan Company. 463 pages. $3.50.

WINIFRED HOLTBY was one of those gay Christian feminists who began their college education on the edge of the battlefields, and graduated to a sturdy and sometimes gallant career of soap-boxing (feminism not being much of an issue then) for the League of Nations. She was admittedly sexless; she wrote sociological novels that were never weak or insensitive but were just a shade too

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normal in a neurotic world: they never quite took that world by storm ("Of course I have no pretensions to genius," she wrote, "but it's the very devil being told as much"); she had intelligent indignations, growing from undergraduate poetic pique ("There are such lots of lovely things in the world, why must we go and spoil them by doing ugly deeds and thinking ugly thoughts?") to an active concern with conditions in the colonies and the prospects of war.

She had, judging by these letters to an educator-friend in South Africa, a beautiful capacity for friendship, and too much goodness of spirit for the good of her Yorkshire wit; she had a too-easy faith, for which she exhausted herself, and with a true hatred of exploitation could say of Lord Robert Cecil, "I'm so delighted that at last we have an idealist in the Cabinet"; she thought "Madame Bovary" "rather nice" and loved flowers and the poems of Walter de la Mare, and life. She died at the age of thirty-seven, and this book is like an epitaph for a set of virtues that warm the heart, dull—in this decade—the brain, and are still worth a good deal of affectionate respect.

ELEANOR CLARK

The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 580 pages. $5.

SIR RONALD STORRS, one-time Military Governor of Jerusalem and Governor of Cyprus, was T. E. Lawrence's co-worker in the Arab revolt. But while Lawrence was an independent rebel and a hater of form, Storrs appears in these memoirs essentially as a part of an Edwardian diplomatic setting; as a respecter of tradition and a staunch believer in the sanctity of his country's progress and ethics. His literary style is apt to reflect this deportment (". . . England remains nevertheless in political sanity the Warden of the Brain, contemplating with steady gaze the features of a Europe twitching and grimacing under a crown of nerves") and is freer and better when the author is away from the taint of His Majesty's officialdom —in descriptions of Jerusalem, its arts and its people; or in short, telltale sketches of Eastern characters and incidents. These memoirs cover an unusually wide field, and there are comprehensive pictures of pre-war Egypt; of the wrangling and diplomacy that culminated in the Arab revolt; of the first ten years of Zionism in Palestine; of that little-known Crown colony, Cyprus; and of numerous personalities from Cromer and Kitchener to Lawrence and Chaim Weizmann.

RICHARD VAUGHAN

New Books: A Reader's List

A GREAT LORD, by Paul Frischauer (Random House, $2.50). A well constructed and translated novel of Poland during the Partition period, introducing an anonymous but historically authentic Polish mistress of Napoleon, her son, and her cuckolded husband whose envy and fear of the Emperor lead him both to imitate and to intrigue against him. Well written, and a good psychological study.

AMERICA ON RELIEF, by Marie Dresden Lane and Francis Steegmuller (Harcourt, Brace, $2). A much needed and comprehensive survey of relief and work-relief projects since 1933—well organized, not too technically written,

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and topped off with the authors' recommendations for correction of faults in the set-up.

MARK TWAIN: A PORTRAIT, by Edgar Lee Masters (Scribner's, $2.75). Mark Twain presented as a misdirected genius who acquiesced in and even flattered, instead of satirizing, the Gilded Age. On the whole the book adds little to the job that Van Wyck Brooks did eighteen years ago with more thoroughness, more sympathy and especially more grace.

MEN ARE NOT STARS, by C. A. Millspaugh (Doubleday, Doran, $2.50). The sprawling tale of a man who takes twenty years to discover that he is not the Great American Painter, subjecting his wife and children, meanwhile, to unnecessary but always picturesque suffering. Depicted with exuberance and convincing sympathy.

FATHERLAND, FAREWELL, by Gösta Larsson (Harcourt, Brace, $2.50). A second novel by the author of "Our Daily Bread," concerning a group of Swedish workers, blacklisted after the General Strike, wretchedly poor, and infected with the dream of America as the promised land.

THE BEST BUTTER, by Elinor Rice (Morrow, $2.50). Some splendid subjects for articles and lectures come to life and threaten the serenity of intellectuals and idealists in a "spot free of the pressures of the external world, a creative retreat," one which sounds a lot like Westport, Connecticut.

SKYE HIGH, by Hesketh Pearson and Hugh Kingmill (Oxford, $3). Two clever Englishmen tour Scotland in the wake of Boswell and Johnson, talking discursively and wittily on a hundred subjects. A delightful parody of Boswell's style.

Contributors

MORRIS L. COOKE is a consulting engineer who, until his recent resignation from the Rural Electrification Administration, was vice-chairman of the National Power Policy Committee.

HENRY C. WOLFE, writer and lecturer on European affairs, has recently returned from his annual visit to Central Europe. His article in this issue is based in part on his forthcoming book, "The German Octopus," which will be published in April by Doubleday, Doran.

ESTHER GELDERS, as she says in her sketch, is the wife of Joseph Gelders, about whom she writes.

JOHN CHAMBERLAIN, who made the daily book review of The New York Times a highlight of the paper during the years he wrote it, is now an editor of Fortune and the author of "We Thank Our Führer," one of the articles in the series called "The Background of War," published in that magazine in May, 1937.

ELEANOR CLARK was associate editor with Horace Gregory of "New Letters in America," published by W. W. Norton and Company.

HAROLD WARD'S special interest is in the social implications of science and technology. He is a contributing editor of China Today.

RICHARD VAUGHAN is a young Englishman who has spent a good part of his life in South Africa. He has written and translated for a living both at home and in this country, where he is now living.

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